

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

MAY, 1856.

RELATIONS OF THE OLD AND THE NEW WORLDS.

It is not our purpose, on this occasion at least, to plunge into the mysteries and intricacies of diplomatic speculation, nor to weary ourselves and our readers with the hopeless effort of anticipating those possible changes in the political attitudes of States which time only can reveal, and which are so dependent upon mere casualties that no prudence can safely venture to prophesy very explicitly about them. While we write, the plenipotentiaries of the Five Powers have probably convened at Paris to arrange the terms of a treaty between belligerents who were drawn into a great and expensive war by blunders and misapprehensions, and who are anxious to terminate their onerous hostilities by empty stipulations in which nothing of importance will be conceded. The Parisian Congress may sit and discuss the phraseology of mutual deception, till all parties are satisfied with the common language employed, however suspicious of the future intentions of each other; they may prescribe new terms to the nations of Europe, for the future harmony of the European system; and may thereby propagate the germ of grander European discord. They may even impugn, and prepare to assail systematically the Monroe doctrine; and may devise vain impediments to the propagation of the American system, and the expansion of the American people. With the intrigues of these acute functionaries, and the solemn deliberations of the high contracting parties, we shall have very little to do. The wire-drawn schemes of plenipotentiaries, whose ingenious devices are swept away like drift-wood before the current of events, and the uncontrollable rush of human destinies, do not con-

cern us. It is our desire to discover the steady stream of change which pursues its onward course athwart the plans of statesmen, and in utter derision of the policy and interests of cabinets and sovereigns. We seek to detect permanent tendencies in the midst of the transient arrangements of state artifice—to find the stable in the bosom of the unstable—the movement of the course of destiny through the labyrinths of human impediments.

It is a wild search to look for sure indications of the results of human caprice—whether that caprice be manifested in the transactions of individuals, or in the arbitrary policy of nations. We shall avoid the snares and pitfalls of Austrian and Russian diplomacy, and shall not trouble ourselves with the cross-purposes, fluctuations, and misunderstandings of Lords Clarendon and Palmerston, and Messrs. Marcy, Buchanan, and Crampton. The topic on which we wish to concentrate our attention is one of even wider bearing, but of easier apprehension, and of a more certain issue. We are solicitous to appreciate those elements in the present and prospective relations of the Old and the New Worlds which directly concern the general destinies of the American people; to catch at the coming certainty, and not to conjure with the shadows of chance. We are anxious to discover what will be the probable effect on the internal growth and development of the American population of the present and impending condition of Europe and its tributary dominions.

Of course, it is impossible to discuss fully a subject of this magnitude within the limits of a brief essay. We waive all such unreasonable pretensions at the outset, and shall only endeavor to consider the more salient aspects of the problem, and to offer such suggestions as have long been familiar to our minds.

The tendency of civilization, no matter how limited and imperfect, is always towards unity. Social, as well as intellectual culture, is diffusive and proselyting in its instincts, and strives to communicate its own impress to all the improvable populations with which it is brought in contact; and to combine the originally disconnected or discordant parts into a symmetrical whole, united by common instincts, appetencies, and pursuits, even when they remain dis severed by political or geographical barriers. Hence arises the spirit of conquest; of territorial acquisition and dominion, which has invariably accompanied the advancement and maturity of every great nation. Hence, too, that passion of universal dominion which has been so frequently and often so brilliantly displayed in the history of the world. It would scarcely be

too adventurous to declare that the instinct of expansion has been always proportionate to the vigor and health of the civilization represented by each people. This spirit has manifested itself during all periods of the world's history; and it is as obvious in the chronicle of the Assyrian, Egyptian, and Macedonian empires, as in the Roman, or in the mediæval supremacy of the Catholic church. It is as manifest in the colonial system of the Greek republics, and in the trading posts of Carthage, as in the colonial empire of England, and the territorial accretions of the United States. It is a fixed law of society, or at least of history, that every type of civilization aspires after universality, and that an unrealized tendency to unity brings, more or less imperfectly, together into one system contemporary nations of like social grade and development.

In despair of any permanent union, which was indeed contemplated and desired by the great statesmen of Greece, the little Hellenic republics struggled to establish a balance of power among themselves, and to guard against aggression by ever shifting alliances which were designed to neutralize the preponderant power of any individual member of this little family of little nations. The aim was not realized by the expedient adopted; but the States of Greece became, by these combinations and by other concurrent influences, a connected system, confederated not by a common polity or a common government, but by similarity of institutions, tendencies and development. This unsatisfactory and insufficient unity was unable to preserve national integrity and independence. It speedily fell before the arms of Philip and Alexander, under whose guidance the Macedonians and his Greek auxiliaries established a true Hellenic empire, whose essential homogeneity was not obliterated either by the distribution of the sovereignty among numerous hostile potentates, nor by the admixture of hostile races.

At the close of the middle ages, the same apprehensions and jealousies which had led to the practical adoption of a balance of power in Greece, occasioned its revival among the discordant republics and intriguing princes of Italy. This renewal of the ancient procedure was destined to a wider influence and a more significant celebrity than it had previously obtained. From the narrow limits of the Italian peninsula it spread itself beyond the Alps, and soon became complicated by the adjunction of the question of Catholic or Protestant supremacy. Since the wars of Charles V. of Spain and Francis I. of France, the balance of power has been always involved in the controversies, diplomatic or militant, of the

European nations; but this very element, while restricting or designed to restrict reciprocal aggressions, has also presented a bond of unity to all, which embraced them in one system, and has made the history of Europe the representation of a single confederation and a single civilization. It is a repetition of the divisions and of the connexion despite of division of separate and independant States, which had been exhibited in the case of Greece. We speak of the history of Greece as of the history of a single aggregate people. In the same manner we speak and write about the history of modern Europe, with the ever-present, however latent conviction, that it is the story of a single type of civilization.

As the Grecian States had their colonies and trading establishments scattered along the coasts of their great sea—*Mare Magnum*—the Mediterranean, from Marseilles to the mouths of the Don, which became parts or remained appendages to the general Hellenic system, according to the degree in which they participated in the general Hellenic culture, so the chief nations of Europe have sent their off-shoots beyond the great oceans, and have planted their scions beneath distant skies, and on the shores of other continents. In some cases, these have been merely factories established in the midst of barbarous and irreclaimable populations, whose productions might be an object of desire, though there was neither inducement for territorial acquisition nor hope of extending to new races the impress of European civilization. In other instances, the European culture introduced has been absorbed by the barbarism with which it was surrounded; but in the majority of the colonies the European movement has been feebly preserved or vigorously continued, and the European system of civilization has been augmented by the addition of dependent or independent States in foreign lands. The arms of Alexander and the dynasties of his successors spread the Hellenic empire over the then most advanced portions of the Old World: the colonial systems of the moderns, more than their arms, has introduced the virgin soil of the New World and the late discovered islands of the Pacific into the circle of the European confederation, and has made its range almost co-extensive with the daily progress of the sun.

The Yankee manufacturers of school books have established a classification of nations, which is often exceedingly convenient, however vague the demarcations, and however shadowy and presumptuous the distinctions at times may be. We allude to the division of the division of the populations of the earth by the compounders of Yankee manuals of geography into enlightened, civilized, semi-civilized, and barbarous.

Availing ourselves of this distribution of the human family, we may say that the European system recognizes as principal or subordinate members of its grand aggregate all the enlightened, and civilized, and most of the semi-civilized populations, leaving the barbarians, for the most part, beyond the pale of its anxieties. It is curious to see the old distinction between Greek and barbarian thus practically resuscitated by the influence of modern culture.

To this European system all the enlightened and civilized regions of the globe appertain—but the ties of affiliation or of fraternization are of very different degrees of strength and importance. The United States are much more closely attached to the European confederation than the Spanish American republics, and Australia is a much more essential appendage than the Cape of Good Hope or Singapore. The force of attraction is determined by the number and magnitude of the same interest, and by the more or less thorough community of culture. In these respects, the United States of North America are, beyond all comparison, the most important and the most decided extra-European member of the European system—however significant the points of mutual repulsion may be.

It may appear a singular hypothesis to represent the United States as an integral part of the European confederation, when the limb is severed from the body by the waves of the Atlantic ocean, by grave differences of political and social organization, and by the still more influential impediment of the Monroe doctrine. But the history of this country—its colonial and even its subsequent history—justifies and demands this identification; nor is it easy to take a philosophical view of the present attitude and prospective fortunes of Europe or America without starting from this point, as these must receive their most luminous interpretation from the old doctrine and the proposed new reading of the balance of power.

Let it be observed, too, that even before this celebrated problem formally modified the domestic relations of the chief nations of Europe, it had been partially applied to the new hemisphere by the papal constitutions relative to the division of the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries in parts unknown; and that many of the most important wars for the preservation of the balance of power in Europe, were stimulated by the still more ardent desire of preserving the balance of power, or of limiting territorial acquisition in the western hemisphere.

Thus conquest, colonial expansion, the extension of the

European system, especially of its more advanced and conflicting types, the inclination to civil, political, and social unity, proceeded simultaneously. Concurrently with this progress, a partially antagonistic movement, briefly symbolized by the dogma of the balance of power, was taking place, by which the special activity of each was limited, and no particular type permitted to extend its jurisdiction by the annihilation of its compeers. The fusion of national discrepancies, the elimination of national idiosyncracies has been the result; and in Europe, as well as abroad, the dominant civilization is characterized by a single generic type which overlays and obscures the remnants of ancient dissimilarity. This well marked tendency has received singular development from the course of events in this nineteenth century, and every day tends to consolidate more and more, under the influence of a vastly augmented commerce, the social resemblance and inherent unity of the civilized states of the world.

Such are the modern tendencies—tendencies exhibited by modern, and illustrated by ancient history. There is the ponderation of all parts towards an equilibrium of forces and an equilibrium of development; but, at the same time, the conditions under which, and the agencies by which this result is sought, prevent the equilibrium from ever being stable, or the tendential unity from ever being fully realized.

In its native continent, the European system has been steadily extending itself—assimilating more and more different regions to each other, and incorporating nation after nation into the grand aggregate of composite forces. It has successively admitted Poland, Prussia, the Scandinavian kingdoms, and Russia into the modern family of nations, and is now endeavoring to devise the means of attaching the decrepit Turkey to the same confederation. The intractability and the incoherence of the materials oppose serious impediments to this union; they produce schisms and fissures into the mass, and introduce the elements of future discord along with those of present union. Turkey exhibits an effete Asiatic type, which must be crushed and ground into powder by the effort to assimilate it to the normal form of western civilization. Russia, on the other hand, presents a rude, hyperborean energy and immature vigor, which threatens, with the increase of its resources and general progress, to overshadow and subdue the elder members of the confraternity. Thus, in the machinery of destiny, provision is made beforehand, both for the communication of past acquisitions and for their transmission to successive ages and to new races. In the grand race of human development, the torch of progress passes from

hand to hand, and is borne onward by new recipients, when the former holders have become wearied by the course.

Crossing the Atlantic or the Indian ocean, we discover in the advanced posts of European civilization in America and Australia new elements of division. The civilization of Europe has been imparted to them in its integrity, and liberated from many of the clogs and trammels which had descended upon it from the ancient and mediæval times. But this civilization cannot be restrained to the same narrow limits and methodical evolution in the midst of a now sparse, but rapidly increasing population, with a rich and immense domain before them, waiting for appropriation and profitable occupation, as it is necessarily restricted to among the dense nations and on the comparatively narrow territories of the Old World. When the concomitant circumstances are so dissimilar, the very unity of aim and spirit must produce dissimilarity of measures and results; and the more eagerly the balance of power is sought to be preserved, the more certain will be its disturbance.

With other parts of the world we shall not concern ourselves at present, but shall confine our observations to the western States of Europe, the old seats of modern civilization, and the American continent, the great outlying inheritor of that civilization, and especially to those relations which prominently affect the destinies of the people of the United States.

Here there is a common civilization, modified by diversity of social condition, political institutions, and the surrounding medium. Hitherto, the United States have obviously formed an integral element of the European system, though dissevered from the complexities and perplexities of the international relations pervading that system, by the intervening ocean, and the fundamental doctrine of the American policy in regard to foreign States—amity with all, entangling alliances with none. Henceforward, this attitude may be signally changed. From the impulse originally communicated, and the civilization already adopted, the United States must continue to evolve the main characteristics of the European culture; but whether this evolution takes place in harmony or in antagonism with the general movement of the Old World, must depend upon the political and other events of the next few years. The true interest of all parties appears to require the conservation of harmony, but national blunders frequently interrupt or divert the healthy currents of change.

Since the declaration of their independence, the United States have acquired such an amplitude of resources, popula-

tion, power, and wealth, and such a range and variety of interests, as must compel them to assume a very different position in the future history of the world from that which would be compatible with the maintenance of any real or imaginary subordination to the nations of Europe. Omitting Russia, a late, dubious, and dangerous member of the European system, the territorial extent of the United States is equal or more than equal to the domain of Europe, and whatever disparity there may now be in the population of the regions compared, it is a disparity which is rapidly diminishing, so far as the effective population is concerned. It cannot be very many years before the surplus production of the necessaries of life in the United States will far exceed the surplus production of those articles in the whole of Western Europe. Every day must increase more and more the impossibility of either ignoring the United States as a principal member of the circle of modern nations, or of restraining her influence, authority, and action within such limits as may be agreeable to the arbitrators of the balance of power. For, concurrently with American developement, has proceeded and must proceed the limitation by internal forces of the activity and external authority of the nations of Europe. On this side of the Atlantic, wherever the progressive spirit is at work, population is multiplying rapidly by a healthy increase; on the other side of the ocean, whatever multiplication takes place is an element of weakness and confusion. In the United States the enlargement of the census is the evidence of vigorous prosperity; in Europe it creates dismay in the minds of statesmen, and distress among the multitude. Here, the increase of wealth is for centuries absolutely unlimited, and must lead to the improvement of the general condition of the masses; there, whatever increase may be achieved enures to the benefit of the few, and augments the burdens and miseries of the people at large, though the effort must soon be to prevent the regression of production in those crowded countries. Here, material strength and prosperity advance in proportion to the net aggregate gains of the community, and to the increase of their means and numbers; there, the national embarrassments are rendered more harassing by the material progress which is the object of eulogy. Here, an indefinite territory and an unlimited range for further advancement towards the south remove all fear of the pressure of population or the restriction of enterprise; there, the well-marked boundaries of the comparatively small territories forbid expansion, and compress excessive numbers into too small spaces. Consolidation, concentration, conden-

sation, are the laws imposed upon Europe; diffusion and dissemination are the law to America. Thus, with common pursuits and a common civilization, different destinies and functions are obviously portended for the chief nations of the two continents. How shall these differences be conciliated, and made to operate in favor of a common interest? How shall the one system of civilization be continued, and the universal empire of modern culture be maintained, without overwhelming the older nations of Europe, or causing an abortion beneath the younger skies of America? This harmony of progress is certainly not to be secured by vitiating the career, and forcibly perverting the destinies of this younger and more vigorous people. If it were practicable to do this, which manifestly it is not, this would be turning back the shadow on the dial of Ahaz, and reversing the order of human evolution. It is not to be accomplished by opposing hostile arms to the extension or aggression (if there is any preference for the latter phrase) of the American people. This very extension is, as we have already seen, a law of national development—a spontaneous and irresistible tendency—a necessary condition of human amelioration. All civilization has displayed its energy and enlarged its operation by acquisitions and conquests from inferior nations, of doubtful equity in themselves, but of unquestionable advantage to the world in their results. If the United States should, in the process of time, absorb Mexico, annex Cuba, spread over Nicaragua and the rest of Central America, and overflow the wide Llanos and pampas of South America, they will only repeat on a grander scale the same series of phenomena which has been exhibited in the past by every nation and every race which has been signally instrumental in furthering the progress of humanity. Conquest, extension, appropriation, assimilation, and even the extermination of inferior races has been and must be the course pursued in the development of civilization. Woe may be unto those by whom the offence comes, when there is a real offence—but such is unquestionably the plan prescribed for the progressive amelioration of the world.

The Monroe doctrine is a cautious but formal statement of this natural law, in its negative aspect, as a fundamental principle of American policy. It denies to the European members of the modern system the right to impose their political jurisdiction to the American Continent, or to cramp American action according to the measure of European policy. It asserts the right, or at least the privilege, of American progress to pursue its course without impediment from the nations

beyond the Atlantic. It indicates a political severance between the Old and New Worlds, and is an extension of the principle of the balance of power to new lands and new circumstances. It places America—the American republics, and particularly the United States—in the attitude of a co-ordinate and not of a dependent element in the modern congregation of nations. The career of Europe belongs mainly to the past—its services appertain chiefly to the past—and its further history must be a prolongation of past aptitudes and tendencies. The career of America is to be achieved in the future, and to assume its peculiar complexion from the character of events and contingencies yet unborn. The past history of Europe has pre-determined the limits of its direct and healthy action. The prospects of America must henceforth regulate its policy. It would be a Mezentian union—binding the living to the dead—to condemn America to follow in the wake of Europe.

*Mortua quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis,
Componens manibusque manus, atque oribus ora ;
(Tormenti genus) et sanie taboque fluentes
Complexu in misero longa sic morte necabat.*

It would be worse than pouring old wine into new bottles to restrict the destinies of America to the fortunes of Europe. A duplex movement in civilization has been commenced, and the policy of this world must be varied in accordance with it. Western Europe, if it has not already reached a stagnant condition, must soon pass its meridian, and spend the remainder of its existence beneath a declining sun. America has just entered on the race set before it, and planted its foot firmly on that magnificent stadium which stretches through centuries to come and probably encompasses within one harmonious civilization the whole of the western hemisphere. Europe is fainting in the course, the heat of the day is over, its work is nearly ended; there is no tranquillity for nations, but inactive lethargy and decay await their old age. America has received the deposit of modern civilization; and her duty, as her destiny, is to expand that civilization under freer forms, and over wider spaces and larger populations. The Hellenic culture, cramped and confined in the narrow valleys and among the rugged mountains of ancient Greece, was diffused by the Macedonian conquests through eastern Europe and western Asia, and part of Africa, but rose to the sovereignty of the world and universal empire only when borne onward by the advancing arms of the Romans. So, the ascendancy of America, and pre-eminently, if not singly, of the United States of North America, appears to be the essential condition for the propagation and amplification of modern

civilization. But the transfer of the guidance of the destinies of humanity is not usually effected without jar or collision ; the sceptre is seldom resigned, but is only surrendered to superior force ; yet the intelligence of men and nations in this age should be sufficient to prevent or mitigate the struggle between the old and the new.

When we contemplate the nations of the two continents which are immediately interested or prominently engaged in this change of destinies, the advantages of harmony become apparent. Western Europe is oppressed beneath the burden of a redundant population ; the greater part of America lies desolate, in the absence of cultivators of the soil. The excess of the one section of the world is calculated to supply the defect of the other ; and the satisfaction of the wants of the one must minister to the alleviation of the miseries and embarrassments of the other. The loss of life in the Russian war, and the rapid current of emigration, stimulated by the Irish famine and the attractions of Californian and Australian gold, have in recent years diminished the pressure of population in the British isles, and occasioned the unusual complaint of the scarcity of labor. The relief and the complaint are both transient—a very few years must bring back the malady ; nor could the complaint exist, if the vagrants, and paupers, and crime pursuing multitudes could be tempted back to honest and industrial avocations, or if the previous competition of laborers had not reduced wages and prices so low, that any change for the better is felt to be an intolerable burden by the employing and consuming classes. Concurrently with this transitory change abroad, there has sprung up in America an unwise hostility to foreign immigration, and the number of those who seek the hitherto hospitable shores of the United States has sensibly diminished. Some local inconveniences might have been produced by their numbers in the great cities of the north and in the adjacent regions, but these might have been removed by temperate legislation, and the benefits of a rapidly increasing population secured.

Numerical increase, however, was the smallest of the advantages to be anticipated by the American people from European emigration. The thousands annually arriving on our shores multiplied the bonds of amity and the ties of interest between the two continents, and linked the prosperity of each with the prosperity, or at least with the tranquility, of the other. By augmenting annually the number of consumers, they maintained high prices and encouraged industry. By enlarging the laboring, and especially the agricultural population, they accelerated the occupation of the new lands of

the west, and rapidly developed the inherent capacities of the country. At the same time, by diminishing the pressure of the population in the Old World, they relieved it of a burden, and enabled it to demand and remunerate larger supplies of American produce. Thus the commerce and the agriculture of the United States were advanced in manifold ways by the constant influx of a foreign population. Nor was the capital introduced by the emigrants by any means a trifling item in the sum total of American prosperity. The immigration during the past year, compared with that of its predecessor, shows a diminution of 170,000, which, according to the moderate estimate of the *New York Times*, is equivalent to a decrease in personal property, added to the capital of the country, of \$13,500,000. Taking the calculations of the same authority, the loss on the produce of the country, in consequence of this decrease of immigrants, is at least \$17,000,000. Many causes have co-operated to arrest immigration during the past year, which exhibits a remarkable decrease from the immigration of the two years immediately preceding, when immigration proceeded with amazing rapidity. But assuming that, under ordinary circumstances, the immigration would maintain an average of a quarter of a million of persons annually, the capital directly introduced by them, constituting a clear accession to the wealth of the country, would be equal to a yearly addition of \$20,000,000, while their labor, valued at the lowest rate, would augment production by the yearly sum of \$25,000,000. These would be the direct additions to the aggregate wealth of the United States, but it would be impossible to determine the indirect additions, occasioned by the increased value of lands and property of all kinds, and by the enhanced prices of provisions, merchandise and manufactures.

The small sums introduced in the hands of the emigrants hitherto afford but a slight indication of the assistance heretofore rendered by the capital of Europe, and the still greater assistance to be expected from it in time to come. Europe has supplied in large measure the funds required for our internal improvements and our extraordinary national expenditures. The external expansion and the internal development of this republic must have been often arrested or long delayed, if we had been denied the convenience and advantage of a ready sale of our public stocks in the markets of Europe. This foreign sale of federal and State bonds amounts to a direct introduction of foreign capital, and has enabled us to anticipate by many years the period when the same advantages could have been acquired by our own un-

aided resources. It has expedited incalculably the development of America. In each separate case the capital thus introduced may be regarded as a temporary loan, because the principal has to be repaid at the expiration of a certain term; but the loans in the aggregate might properly be considered permanent, as the tendency and interest on both sides of the Atlantic were to increase the amount of the debentures by the creation of new and larger obligations. However long the process might continue the principal would still be due, and would require ultimately to be paid, but the clearing day could be postponed advantageously to the creditor and the debtor until the increased resources of the latter, generated by the aid of the former, enabled the debt to be absorbed by the augmented wealth of the United States, or to be cancelled by the surplus revenues which are largely due to the assistance of these foreign loans. Europe was desirous to lend for the sake of a larger per centage than its domestic condition allowed; America was anxious to borrow for the sake of accelerating its development. Both parties were benefitted by the maintenance of this relation. To those who are unfamiliar with the course of national production and amelioration, the interest annually exported for the payment of the foreign debt might seem an annual national loss; but in all cases of judicious investment and management this sum was much more than compensated by the increase of annual national profit. It would not, perhaps, be too adventurous to say that, notwithstanding the recklessness, the mismanagement, and the malfeasance, which have often characterized the employment of our foreign loans, and the execution of our public works, the real gain to the community has always been very far in excess of both the principal and the interest of the foreign debt. This gain may seldom exhibit itself in the form of an annual revenue—it may not appear in the returns and reports of railroad companies, canal commissioners, and boards of public works, but it may be concealed under the increased value of lands, the rise of prices, and the regular augmentation of the tax proceeds.

The manufactures, the mines, the commerce, and the large cities of the Union have all been indebted to the co-operation of foreign capitals. To what extent we do not pretend to determine. But we may safely allege that without such concert of action, engendered and sustained by reciprocal advantages, the development of American resources would not have proceeded with the same remarkable energy, rapidity, and success, which have characterized their movement. What had already been done, however, was only a faint prelude of what

was likely and is still likely to be done in the future, if the amicable relations heretofore subsisting with the governments and nations of Europe are steadily preserved. The multiplication and amplification of capitals necessarily reduce interest, the increase of population diminishes wages, but it also tends to diminish the rate of profits, wherever society has approached or is approaching the level of stagnation. Extraordinary contingencies, and the sudden demand for money, men, and products, may interrupt this natural order, and obscure the evidence of this law; but it is nevertheless an established truth, which again becomes operative as soon as the cessation of the unusual stimulus permits business to resume its regular routine. But capital is grasping and greedy in its essence; and, though its natural timidity will always induce it to accept small but secure profits in preference to large and doubtful returns, it will, as soon as it is assured of the security of the investment, transfer itself to those countries and employments which promise the amplest returns. It is in a new and not in an old country that these are to be obtained; it is in the midst of rising and not of declining activity and industry that they must be sought, and for centuries to come the United States must continue to offer to capital ampler rewards than can be obtained in Europe. Moreover, the security which has hitherto been so efficient in retaining European capital at home, has been materially lessened by the events of late years, and the prospects of the future are less favorable even than the experience of the present. Rebellions, dethronements, insurrections, civil discords, political agitations, and wars, domestic and foreign, do not afford a favorable atmosphere for capital. Interruptions and increased taxation interfere seriously with its profitable employment; and if such disturbances are continued, as they are likely to be, it must escape from its alarms and bondage, and seek elsewhere a happier asylum. Whither can it migrate so advantageously as to the United States and the shores of the New World?

But capital will not come alone, if the kindly relations of the past are still cherished. It will bring in its train the employers and supervisors of capital, and the skill and enterprise required for its most efficacious use. The manufactures and manufacturers of Europe, but particularly the former, will be transferred to the American continent, and the vast enterprises which have been mainly confined to the Old World will be revived under still more brilliant auspices in the New. This process has already commenced. There are many branches of industry which in a few years can be no longer

prosecuted with advantage amid the embarrassments of the older nations. Western Europe is every day becoming more and more dependent upon America for bread stuffs, provisions, and raw materials. The agriculture of this continent is expanding and must expand to meet the foreign demands upon its products. Turkey, Poland, Russia, and Egypt may be able to supply for years the ordinary importations of wheat in time of peace—but preservation of peace is henceforward very uncertain in Europe, and the time must come before long when the decline of industry in some of these countries and the increase of the home consumption in others, with the increased expense of transportation, must render America the principal resource. The deficiency of timber in Europe must throw into our hands the ship-building of the world; and the increasing obstacles in the manufacture of iron must soon make other countries as well as our own mainly dependent upon American iron. It has only been the low wages of labor, the abundance and moderate profits of capital in Europe which have retained so long there the larger and commoner branches of manufacturing industry. These must all come to America as soon as there is a general assurance of the security of capital and profits here, and as soon as the rise of wages from the effects of migration, the increase of taxation from the multiplication of pauperism, and local or foreign disturbance, and the increased cost of materials, render industry less productive there than it is here. The great labors of production, agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing, will be prosecuted on the vast domain and amid the boundless resources of America; the works of art, luxury, and refinement will be long reserved for Europe, where the greater abundance and the smaller remuneration of talent and skill, and where the larger consumption of such products enable them to be produced at less cost, and sold to more advantage, than they could be in the bosom of a young, growing, and scattered people.

Fortunately for the welfare of humanity these changes will proceed gradually. The great movements of destiny take place silently and extend through long periods of time, thus averting the misery and the destruction which would result from a sudden disturbance of the old order of affairs. Emigration, however rapidly it may proceed, when we look only at its immediate effects, takes place but slowly, when it is contrasted with either the population from which it issues or the population to which it is added. A quarter of a million of immigrants is an immense number to be transported in a single year across the waters of the Atlantic to the United

States; it is only the one hundredth part of the population of our country, and not more than the thousandth part of the population of Europe. Thus, if there were no domestic increase of numbers, it would take a century for the immigration to equal the census of the American people, and a millenium to drain off the inhabitants of Europe. But the natural increase of the population of the United States is four times as rapid as the increase from immigration; and the natural increase of the European nations replaces many times the decrease by emigration.

The emigration from Europe diminishes the amount of labor in the market, increases wages, and attenuates profits; at the same time it increases labor in America without leading to any disastrous competition, depresses wages in the lower grades of labor, augments production and increases profits. Thus it attracts capital from Europe to America, and invites the migration of manufactures and other branches of industry. These, as they develop themselves, with fewer restraints than they were previously subjected to, and with more brilliant results than they formerly achieved, tempt the further transfer of industry, capital and enterprise, and crush, by their competition, the same pursuits in the countries which they had abandoned. The process advances slowly and gradually, but certainly, and is systematically changing the prospects, destinies and avocations of the different regions of the world.

The inventions of modern science and the combinations of modern genius concur in facilitating and in assuring the same results. In speaking of the prospective dependence of the European populations on American agriculture for a large part of their subsistence, we omitted to mention the influence of the application of machinery to agriculture in determining this dependence. In England, where rural labor is cheap and land limited and valuable, no necessity has heretofore stimulated the direction of mechanical invention to agriculture. In the United States, where labor has been not only dear but deficient, and land has been cheap and superabundant, the scarcity and the unreliability of labor has quickened agricultural invention. With the reaping and mowing machines, the horse-powers and their various applications, the horse-rakes, hay-tedding machines, horse-mills, digging and ditching machines, &c., &c.—it will soon be practicable to dispense with a greater part of human labor in the cultivation of the soil, and to perform the most onerous duties of the farm principally by machinery. The scarcity and high wages of labor might have kept up the high prices of farm

products, so as to prevent their extensive competition with the produce of Europe, raised by ill-paid farm servants; but the general adoption of farm machinery in America must reduce the cost and the price of American grain and stock, and overcome any competition on the part of Europe. At present British husbandry far surpasses the American in careful and scientific culture; but American husbandry is just as far superior to the English and European in the variety and skill of its mechanical inventions. The extensive use of farm machinery, however, will generate other effects besides the cheapening of American produce. It presupposes or encourages cultivation on a large scale: it must, therefore, favor the system of large farms, and the profits of its application will be proportionate to the extent and cheapness of land. This tendency will increase the expatriation which has been so actively enforced among the agricultural population of the British islands, and will hasten the occupation and improvement of the unpopulated or sparsely inhabited regions of the earth. It will spread cultivation over the prairies of the west, and soon introduce the farm products raised on the upper waters of the Missouri and the Columbia into the markets of Paris and London. While this amelioration is advancing on this side of the Atlantic, on the other, and wherever farms are small and lands dear, the soil will be withdrawn from the cultivation of grass and grain and the raising of stock, and devoted either to purposes of luxury, such as parks and pleasure grounds, or applied to the cultivation of such special crops as require and remunerate a large amount of human labor, and do not admit of the extensive employment of machinery. Horticultural and floricultural operations will be indefinitely extended: the improvement of stock, encouraged by the enormous prices offered for high bred animals of approved breeds, will engross and reward the attentive care of the land owners and agriculturists in those places where land is limited and high; but the great business of raising the staple articles of subsistence for the millions of the earth will devolve upon those new countries where lands are unlimited and of easy acquisition, and where neither taxation nor a heavy interest on a large vested capital depresses profits and increases price.

These obvious tendencies of present changes will be rendered more marked and precipitate if any one should succeed in adapting steam to the plough and to the harrow, and to the other implements of cultivation. How could the products raised, with or without the aid of steam, on a farm of fifty, one hundred, or two hundred acres of land, compete with

those raised on farms counting their acres by the thousand, and on which an uninterrupted furrow might be run in a straight line for miles? We may be certain that every great mechanical invention in farm tools will aid in extending the agriculture of America, and of transferring to her the task of feeding the nations and sustaining the old age of Europe.

It is only slight and undeveloped indications of the great changes in progress that our limits have permitted us to give, but in this great mutation of human destinies what are political considerations, diplomatic aspirations, international jealousies, and the balance of power, compared with the social welfare and harmony of the multitudes involved in this mighty movement? Europe has reached, or must shortly reach her zenith; wars and rumors of wars are before her; domestic troubles will overwhelm her resources and exhaust her cares; the maintenance of a declining population and the retardation of decay are the sole objects which will be left for legitimate statemanship, wherefore should she exacerbate her maladies, and frustrate any salutary policy by a vain struggle against the current of events, and by a futile endeavor to extend the limits of an empire beneath which she is already sinking? America offers her sustenance for her people, while her own breasts are drying up from age; America offers a home and occupation for her famishing and wretched myriads; America offers a market for the luxuries which she will continue to fabricate until idleness and impotence overtake her in the fulness of time; America, too, tenders the raw materials which may be required to nourish her industry as long as that industry can be upheld; America also invites her capitals and capitalists to improve their own profits, to contribute to American prosperity, and to minister to the general comfort of men. Why ignore, misapprehend, or reject these offers? And, why should America, by ill-timed and narrow jealousies, or by an irritable diplomacy, repel the advantages presented to her, and refuse the heritage which solicits her acceptance.

When nations once attain that maximum of development, they cannot stand still in their course, but must move onward in an unending journey, like the sun, and bend to that decline. When that decline commences, and during its continuance, production diminishes and gradually decays; the humbler population is exterminated or eliminated; and the independent classes live riotously on their means, and soon begin to trench upon the aggregate capital by the growth of license and extravagance. This period of national decay would be mitigated and prolonged by the preservation of the harmony of interests and relations between Europe and America. The inert capitals abroad would be rendered more

productive of revenue to their owners by being invested in public securities or industrial enterprises here; they would afford large revenues for their individual gratifications; and the sums withdrawn in interest from this country would be much more than compensated by the production which they had occasioned here. Moreover, as a profitable investment was still in prospect, there would be still sufficient inducement for saving, and a portion of the interests might flow back as fresh capital. It would be difficult to determine the degree in which this interchange of advantages between communities dissimilarly situated, would operate in adjourning the dark and evil days of Europe; it is much more manifest how efficaciously it would operate in developing the resources and the prosperity of America.

In this manner, the change of destiny which is plainly portended, would proceed gradually and beneficently. All parties would derive advantage and security from the movement; and the course of civilization in passing to a new hemisphere and a broader field of action would experience no serious interruption. The system of Europe would be extended over a wider range than ever, though placed under a new and independent jurisdiction, more compatible with its future requirements, more favorable to its further development. That unity which had been sought and partially achieved by the past career of Europe, and by the doctrine of the balance of power, would be still pursued on an ampler arena, as a continuation of the former part of modern history, and more perfectly realized in America by the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine. The American Declaration of Independence was the assertion of the enfranchisement of the United States from the dominion of a single European power; the Monroe doctrine is the proclamation of the independence of the American continent; and its exemption from that further jurisdiction of the European confraternity of kingdoms and empires, which is inconsistent with its legitimate development. It is the claim of America to a co-ordinate, instead of a subordinate, position, in the modern family of nations, preparatory to the exercise of those functions which will devolve upon it when the sun of Europe declines.

We have confined our observations almost entirely to the United States, because this country alone of the American republics and States occupies a prominent position at present on the chess-board of nations; and because it is destined to maintain and perhaps to extend its existing amplitude and superiority. But, if there had been time to mould our views in larger proportions, it would have been interesting to have

traced the onward movement of the great wave of civilization over Mexico, Central America, the West India Islands, Columbia, the valley of the Amazon, Brazil, along both slopes of the South American Cordilleras, and down the tributary waters of the La Plata to the confines of Patagonia. This evolution of the general ideas thus hastily presented, and the consequences of the evolution, we must leave to the prophetic instinct or the fancy of our readers.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER—DISCOVERY, CHARACTERISTICS AND RESOURCES.*

The volume named above contains what is denominated by Mr. Shea the *authentic* narrative by Father James Marquette, of his discovery of the Mississippi. The history which he gives of the manuscript is, that it was prepared for publication by Father Claude Dablon, and lay unknown in the Jesuits' College at Quebec. The last survivor of the Jesuits, when the college was closed, after the country had come into the possession of England, deposited it in the Hotel Dieu, in charge of the nuns, who, in 1844, returned it to Rev. F. Martin, one of the Jesuit fathers, who had come to Quebec to resume the instructions and services of the order. By him it was delivered to Mr. French for publication. This *authentic* copy, as it is called, is identical, for the most part, in word and letter, with the prior editions of the same work, but differing, however, materially in some not unimportant statements from the others, in relation to several particulars, a few of which will be referred to in these pages. The volume contains, also, a translation of the newly published manuscript. It might be a not uninteresting discussion to inquire into this history. That an authentic narrative of such an important event should be allowed to lie hidden nearly a century in the college, while France retained her dominion in Canada, and eighty years more in the cabinet of the nuns, is a curious, perhaps an inexplicable matter. And it might be scarcely less curious to settle the question whence was obtained the *unauthentic* copy which was given to the world in

*"Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley: with the original narratives of Marquette, Alouez, Membre, Hennepin, and Anastase Douay, by John Gilmary Shea." Redfield, Clinton Hall, New York, 1852. 1 vol. 8vo. 267 pp.

We use the liberty here, as elsewhere, of spelling Mississippi in this mode, though not in accordance with common usage. If we do not forget, Fathers Bingham and Morse, from whom our early instruction was derived, used this orthography. It seems, manifestly, the correct form. A compound word, Missi and Sippi, or, in other dialects, Massi and Sippo, or Sepo, the addition of s between the two is unnecessary, if not incorrect.

1681, which, as above said, is, with some exceptions hereafter referred to, identical with the *authentic* copy.

These inquiries, however, will not perplex our pages. The volume itself exacts so much notice and remark, that no space is left for less important mysteries of merely collateral relation. A more formidable obstruction to such inquiry would exist in the want of evidence.

The obvious purpose in the compilation of this volume is to prove the hypothesis that Marquette discovered and first explored the Mississippi, and that the work bearing his name is genuine and authentic. While the first is, certainly, possible, and, indeed, in no way improbable, standing as worthy of belief as any other thing which is unsupported by evidence, and not attended with any discrediting circumstances, the last idea is discredited by internal no less than by extrinsic evidence. It is true that three authors of much historical celebrity have treated the work of Marquette as authentic, and one of them has even attempted to prove it so.* Two of these, Charlevoix and Sparks, are relied upon by Mr. Shea to support his view; and as the main design of the work above named is to establish the two propositions before stated, and as he seeks to fortify his position by the force which is drawn from their authority, it will be necessary to go into an examination, somewhat elaborate, of his evidence, and of the counteracting testimony.

It seems to us that any person who has actually seen the Mississippi river will be at once impressed with the idea, on reading the narrative in question, that it was written by one who had no personal knowledge of the country, or the objects to which the book relates, but who had only a misty and indistinct idea of them—such as is gathered from the relations of others. This, indeed, we should think, must strike *all* readers, from the extreme paucity and almost total absence of detail. Our world of land and water contains one river only superior to this. Its rank as a river made its discovery a matter of curious and extraordinary interest in the republic of letters; its relations with Canada, and its vast extent of rich lands, rendered it of peculiar and incalculable value to the nation of the alleged discoverer and narrator, and not less to the Christian church, whose zealous apostle he was, and for the extension of the faith of which he had devoted his life, and was now undergoing the most extraordinary toils, privations and perils. It is incredible that a man of common observation and sagacity, who had passed twelve hundred miles on such a river, and five or six hundred on two of its principal tributaries,

* Mr. Sparks. The others referred to are Charlevoix and Bancroft.

even if the whole space had been before traversed and described, should find nothing to relate of its topography, capacities, natural history, peculiar characteristics, hydrographical features, depth or volume; and this becomes quite too much for human faith, when it is considered that no man had before traversed or seen any portion of this vast system of rivers save the roaming savage, and that he was publishing to the world the greatest discovery made or to be made on this continent next to this continent itself. The only solution of this marvellous reserve is to be found in ignorance.

Even the most prominent topographical particulars in the outline of the river are omitted, except in three or four instances; and each of those is of such a nature, and so loosely stated as to indicate a relation at second hand. Nearly all that is given in this respect, as well as of the depth and current of the stream, is comprised in a dozen lines of description on the first entrance upon the river, applying, of course, to a very few miles only of its extent. He says: "It is narrow at the mouth of the Misconsing; its current, which runs south, is slow and gentle; on the right is a great chain of very high mountains,* and on the left, very fine lands. It is in many places studded with islands. On sounding we have found ten fathoms of water. Its breadth is very unequal;† it is sometimes three-quarters of a league, and sometimes narrows into three arpents, (220 yards.)

This brief sentence, which contains nothing more than might be related at second hand from the accounts of the Indians, and which is delivered in the Indian style of condensation—a pure model of laconic beauty—comprises nearly the whole information which the narrative imparts of the Great river. The "*great chain of very high mountains*," however, has not been seen by any subsequent traveller.

* The word is "grande" in the *authentic* as well as in the original copy. Mr. Shea's translation very judiciously dilutes this into considerable. If the following words, "very high," should be in like manner reduced, it would make some approach towards the fact.

† This is the version of Mr. Shea's *authentic* copy. The edition of 1681, as reprinted by Mr. Rich in 1845, beside the important differences named below, has it, "its breadth is very equal."—(*Sa largeur est fort égale.*) The former editions give the depth, in the same line, *dix-neuf* (nineteen) fathoms. The last line, after league, in this sentence, is not in the old editions. The whole sentence stood, originally, "En sondant nous avons trouvé *dix-neuf* brasses d'eau, sa largeur est fort *égale*, elle a quelquefois trois quarts de lieues." The next page has similar alterations. The prior editions say, "the wild oxen are *more* than one time larger and more corpulent," (than the domestic cattle,) "our people having slain one, *thirteen* (treize) persons could hardly remove it. In the *authentic* copy the word *plus* becomes *pres*, nearly one time larger, and the thirteen men, like Falstaff, are brought down to three," (*trois.*) We know not which number is most judicious. There being but *seven* in the company, it seems necessary to take down the thirteen some; but three men would not be able to remove one of our common cattle, without the aid of machinery.

The fortunate discoverer of the "*grande chaîne*" was not only happy in the first view, but in the last also. He enjoyed a complete monopoly of this mountain landscape. There is in this region, on the right bank, in our day, beside the bluff that extends throughout nearly the whole course of the river, only the single small elevation, known as Pike's mountain, so far as later travellers inform, which is between two and three hundred feet above the general level, hardly filling the idea of a mountain, certainly not to be named as a very high one. At twenty miles lower down are some lesser hills, the whole sufficient to excuse a relation at second hand from the Indians, like that above, but not justifying a statement of one who speaks of his own knowledge.* A statement that a large river is cut up with many islands might be pretty safely hazarded without even the support of Indian testimony;† and it is not to be supposed that, in a stream of the first class, some spot might not be found to verify the figure of ten fathoms, or the report that its width is unequal. It might require, however, a search warrant to find the width of two miles and thirty-two rods, or the contraction to 220 yards. Though it is possible some nook might be found to answer the first requisition, the last, we are confident, would elude the search, and the return upon the warrant must be "*non inventus*."

These two characteristics of the narrative, the extreme scarcity of detail, and the presentment of those few in such a manner as might easily have been done by a person who had not left his chimney-corner in Quebec, afford not only a reasonable, but a very strong ground of suspicion that the writer had not seen the river, but that the volume issued from a manufactory of marketable literary articles, with an eye more to the profit of the work than to accurate historical narrative or geographical information, was put up merely to

* Other travellers describe the bluff which forms the river bank as a chain of mountains. But this (not certainly to be called "*very high mountains*") extends through nearly the whole course of the river at intervals, and is not a peculiar characteristic of the place named. It is merely the river bank, below which the stream flows several hundred feet. The height of the bluff is from 200 to 400 feet usually. Featherstonhaugh says, "opposite to the Wisconsin it is 450 feet high. It is singular that a traveller should speak of this, after passing without notice the much greater elevation on the Wisconsin, known as the Blue Mounds, said by Owen to be 1,000 feet high. Major Long names the elevation of the eastern bluff 435 feet, and of the western about the same; and Pike's mountain, opposite the mouth of Wisconsin, 550 feet high, or about 100 feet above the bluff level.

† This was a generally notorious feature of the river. It had been stated by Biedma, more than a century before, in his relation of the expedition of De Soto, that the river had many islands too near its source; probably on the same authority of the natives.

fill a bookseller's order, in regular course of trade. Such was the work appearing soon after, in name of Tonti. Such, very probably, was this, and perhaps the second volume of Hennepin. The three volumes may be supposed the work of one hand, produced by some ingenious Defoe, to satisfy his own wants, and to increase the honest gains of some ancient Dombey and Son.

It is taxing credulity too severely, to demand of readers the belief that an educated and observing man, who had traversed from eighteen hundred to two thousand miles on this majestic stream and two important navigable tributaries—a system of rivers having only one superior—then new to all the world save himself and a few roving bands of Indians, possessing some peculiarities certainly worthy to be noted, should, in a volume expressly designed to communicate his great discovery to the world, have given so meagre an account of it.

There is not, so far as we have observed, a single fact stated, whether of permanent objects, as those relating to the geography or topography of the country, or transient, as those narrating the meeting with Indians or the wild animals, which might not be as well derived from the suggestions of the Indians as that stated in relation to the source of the river: "The river Mississippi draws its origin from several lakes in the country of the people of the north;" (p. 10 Rich's ed., Shea, sec. 4, p. 17,) which commences the few lines of description before quoted, on the entrance upon the river, and which fact was then not known to a single white man, except upon Indian testimony.

In the narrative, consisting of twenty-five and a half pages, eight are devoted to utterly frivolous occurrences attending his supposed visit of five days to the Illinois Indians, which were only a repetition of habits, modes and scenes which Marquette had witnessed for years among the numerous tribes between Quebec and the Mississippi, and which *he* would not have thought of relating; and seven and a half pages more to the first days of his voyage on the lake and on Fox river, all old ground; while ten pages only are allowed to his great discovery.

From the Wisconsin to the Missouri are the large rivers of Rock and Illinois on the east, the Des Moines on the west, and six other considerable rivers, not including the small streams; there are two rapids of much import to boatmen, covering thirty-five or thirty-six miles, within the same termini; yet the whole notice and description of the river for this entire distance, exceeding five hundred miles, with the im-

portant features above named, in addition to the few lines already quoted on his entering the river, is comprised in the following summary: "We descend, following the course of the river (toward another*) called Pekitanoüi, which empties into the Mississippi, coming from the northwest, of which I have something considerable to say, after I have related what I have remarked of this river." He then gives *nearly a page and a half* of "*what I have remarked of this river*," which consists of a mention of three or four plants, the painted rock near the Illinois, and the discharge of the current of the Missouri into the Mississippi, of which he was first notified by the noise, and than which he has seen nothing more frightful. We confess that we have passed this part of the river several times, without realizing the description; but granting it to be correct, there is nothing in this brief page and a half that might not be stated as well by a person who had merely talked with an Indian in the streets of Quebec.

To these intrinsic evidences against the authenticity of the work, it may be added that in the only two cases where the author ventures to express distance by figures he gives very little exceeding half the actual measurement. The Wisconsin he states at 40 leagues, or 112 miles; his annotator, now under review, states it nearer the mark in noting 175 miles. The distance of the Ohio from the Missouri is 190 miles; the narrative calls it 40 leagues, or 112 miles. This variance in distances, however, would, of itself, show nothing repugnant to the idea of authenticity.

The argument drawn from what is not related in the work, against its authenticity, is greatly fortified by what *is* related. The natives, generally, in speaking of the river to the French, mentioned, as one of its characteristics, that it contained monstrous fish, that would devour men, and cautioned La Salle against going down the river because he would meet these *near its mouth*, meaning the alligators, undoubtedly, that infested the bayous and ponds connected with the waters of that river in its lower latitudes. The author of this work, as would naturally be the case with one ignorant of the country and making a fictitious narrative, recollects this as a prominent feature, and introduces the "monstrous fish" to the reader, in his first entrance upon the river, and treats us to this exhibition in latitude 42°, which he should have reserved for 10° nearer the tropic. One of them, he says, "struck so violently against our canoe that I took it for a large tree about to knock us to pieces." Upon which, his

*The words in parenthesis are supplied by the translator. The original is "*suiuant le courant (channel) de la rivi  re appell  e Pekitano  i.*"

editor, in a note signed F.,* says, "probably a large catfish." He describes, at another time, on the water, a monster with the head of a tiger, a pointed snout, like a wild cat's, and a beard and ears erect, a greyish head and neck all black.†

Below the Ohio river, the narrative says, "we now entered the country of the mosquitoes, and were obliged to make, on the water, a kind of cabin with our sails, to shelter ourselves from the mosquitoes and the sun." The author, when he made this statement, probably forgot the fact that the party were in two birch canoes,‡ in which sails could not well be used for propellers, and would be useless and cumbersome to bring with them, and, therefore, it must be supposed, were not provided. And some explanation seems necessary to understanding clearly in what manner a canvas awning or tent, spread over a canoe, would exclude mosquitoes, unless they were *very* large, and how such a light fabric could bear the cabin without being overturned.§

The recital says, "They," (the Illinois Indians whom they visited on the Moingona, as has been supposed,) "*use guns also*, which they buy of our Indian allies who trade with the French." This is in 1773, while on Lake Illinois, (now Michigan,) two hundred miles nearer to the French, La Salle found the Illinois Indians, *seven years later*, without fire arms, and unacquainted with their use. This is stated by Father Zenobius Membré, whose relation is contained in the very volume before us, designed to prove the authenticity of Marquette. He says, (page 151,) "they have used iron implements and arms *only since our arrival*." And further, to this statement of Membré's we have a note, (by Mr. Shea, apparently,) thus: "All agree in the great skill of the Illinois bowmen, and even as late as 1692-3, when Rale was with them, *they had not yet begun to use guns*." So this assertion of the recital, in a matter in which an eye witness could not be mistaken, is not only directly contradicted by Membré and others, but even by Mr. Shea himself. Taking this as proven false, the only refuge is to suppose the recital a fiction, drawn up, as already suggested, by another person, or to attach the falsehood, (so proved from Mr. Shea's own words,) to the holy father, James Marquette, an alternative we for-

* It is understood that the notes signed F., in the volume before us, are by Mr. French; the others by Mr. Shea.

† Here the annotators appear to be at fault. They make no attempt to classify this queer fish, or to assign him a place or name. This, evidently, was not a catfish.

‡ See Mr. Shea's volume, page 7, note by F.

§ According to Major Long, these canoes absorb so much water that it is necessary to take them out of water, each night, to dry. Yet these remained in water four months, day and night, being anchored in the river at night.

bear to adopt, except upon good proof, and of which there is not even a probable ground of suspicion.

In describing the first interview with the same Illinois Indians, he says, "they were covered with *cloth*, (etoffe) *by which we knew they were our allies*," (p. 15, Shea, p. 21.) Afterward he says, "they have only *skins for garments*," (p. 22, Shea, p. 33.) Of the same nature appear to be the two statements regarding the costume of the chiefs. "Having arrived at the great Sachem's town, we espied him at his cabin door, between two old men, all three standing *naked*, with their calumet turned to the sun." (Shea, p. 23.) Afterward, "the chiefs are distinguished from the soldiers *by their wearing a scarf* ingeniously made of the hair of bears and wild oxen." (Shea, p. 33.) The variance in the first of the two cases is absolutely irreconcilable. The last *may* not be so, it is true, there being a refuge in the supposition that the appearance of the three chiefs was an exception to the general practice. There is nothing, however, from which this inference may be drawn, and the statement appears to be, as in the first case, the result of a want of memory of what had been already stated on the same point.

All that is said about the buffalo bears the impress of a recitation of the tales of others. And such this page of the book must be considered. Yet it does not appear in any different guise than other matter stated as of actual observation. If seen at all by the narrator, it was, as it purports, in June, but the different appearance of the animal in winter and summer is described, and other particulars, as, not a year passes without their killing some Indian, their action when attacked, and when fired upon, what is to be done when attacked by them, &c., all evidently repeated from the Indians, though stated, as other matters, as of actual knowledge.

On page 75, Mr. Shea quotes Mr. Sparks' life of Marquette, to the point that the map accompanying the narrative proves the genuineness of the work. Mr. Sparks' argument is thus: "It was impossible to construct it without having seen the principal objects delineated, and it should be kept in mind that this map was published at Paris in the year 1681, and, consequently, the year before the discoveries of La Salle on the Mississippi, and that no intelligence respecting the country it represents could have been obtained from any source subsequently to the voyage of Marquette." Mr. Sparks uses this argument, and Mr. Shea quotes it as showing conclusively that Marquette had performed his voyage down the Mississippi, because, if he had not, he could not have constructed the map. This is a striking instance to show

how a very cool and logical head may be misled, by a preconceived theory, into a very illogical conclusion. The map undoubtedly proves that its *delineator* had seen the Mississippi, but the member wanting in Mr. Sparks' argument is, that there is nothing to indicate the delineator. He might have been the naked chief who is presented as addressing Marquette on the Upper Mississippi, or some one of that or any other tribe, whom the writer may have seen in the streets of Quebec in any month of the year. The Indians are very good delineators of the rivers and other prominent points in the countries over which they roam. It would have been as easy for any writer in Quebec, designing to produce a marketable narrative of this kind, to obtain the map in question, or the description from which to construct one, as to give a blanket to an Indian visitor. And such, the narrative itself informs, was the origin of the map. It is therein distinctly declared that it was *drawn from information of the Indians before the embarkation on the voyage*. This is stated in the first section of the narrative. "As we were going to seek unknown countries, we took all possible precautions that, if our enterprise was hazardous, it should not be fool-hardy; for this reason we gathered all possible information from the Indians who had frequented those parts, and even from their accounts traced a map of all the new country, marking down the rivers on which we were to sail, the names of the nations and places through which we were to pass, the course of the great river, and what direction we should take when we got to it." Thus, it appears, the reasoning of Mr. Sparks, adopted by Mr. Shea, by which the voyage is supposed proved, and the genuineness of the narrative, by the map, is completely overthrown by the positive declaration of the narrative itself, which shows that the map was actually constructed before the embarkation for the voyage; that it was made by the direction of the Indians, when the river had not, in fact, been seen by the author of the work, whoever he may have been.

It is very singular that Mr. Shea himself not only gives us this account of the origin of the map, in the language of the narrative, but he also makes a separate statement of the fact in his own words, in his preliminary chapter, (p. xxviii.) "The winter" (before the departure) "was spent in preparation, in studying over all that had yet been learned of the great river, in gathering around them every Indian wanderer, and amid the tawny group, drawing their first rude map of the Mississippi, and the water courses that led to it. And on this first map, traced doubtless kneeling on the ground, they set

down the names of each tribe they were to pass, each important point to be met." This entirely destroys all proof of authenticity derived from the map, as it shows that the possession of a map giving all details does not at all involve the idea of a voyage down the river, by the author of the work, but that it could be as well constructed without leaving Quebec; and that in fact, in the present case, the map was actually made from information given by the Indians, and *not* by the author of the narrative on his own inspection.

The narrative relates that they entered the Mississippi on the 17th of June, met the Illinois Indians at the place spoken of, (whether the Iowa rock or Des Moines river may not be confidently said, as this place, like every other description or statement, is given with that admirable vagueness so natural in a person who ventures on a relation of unknown regions,) on the 25th of June, and left their village at the end of June; and on the 17th of July, having descended as low as the Arkansas river,* and rested one day, set out on their return up the river. Thus in (30 days less 6, or) 24 days, having gone 1,180 miles, or at the rate of $49\frac{1}{2}$ miles a day, *always anchoring at night*. This was about four miles an hour for every hour of daylight, (allowing for meals,) continued for two periods of eight days and sixteen days. This, *perhaps*, might be done; but it is exceedingly good work, and probably has not been done often since.† "In the close of September" they arrived at the Bay of Puans, having stopped three days with the Peorias.

Messrs. Lewis and Clark, with a good force of boatmen, with sails which on several days were used to very good effect, and with such outfit and equipment as the United States government afforded to speed them on their way, made $298\frac{1}{2}$ miles in ascending the Missouri (they were so accurate as to note quarters) in the month of July, resting seven days and making twenty-four days of actual travelling time, being little less than $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles per day. Our two canoes ascended 675 miles against the same current, from the Arkansas to the Illinois, and thence by the Illinois and the lake to

* The annotator says Red river, about 400 miles further.

† The time occupied by La Salle in descending from the mouth of the Illinois river to the mouth of the Mississippi was from the 13th February to 9th April, or fifty-five days, of which he stopped nineteen, leaving thirty-six days in which he was actually occupied in making progress. This was equal to $39\frac{1}{2}$ miles a day, having the rapid current of the Missouri the *whole* distance, while the supposed voyage of Marquette would include 500 miles, nearly half the distance, on the gentle Mississippi, and La Salle had a force of over forty men, twenty-three French, eighteen Indians, and himself a host, a man of most uncommon energy and spirit, who had already accomplished the passage of the Strait after the others had tried in vain and given over.

Green Bay, 565 miles, making, in the whole ascending distance, 1,240 miles, between the 17th of July and the end of September, being 72 days, beside the three lost ones, or $17\frac{1}{4}$ miles a day; an extraordinary performance truly, to continue for two months constantly laboring against the stream, more than half the distance being against the current of the rapid Missouri, with two paddles; and the four hands held to that work having only three beside to relieve their labor, one of whom, at least, the father, probably gave very little assistance. Lewis and Clarke's narrative has this line: "May 26. *The wind being favorable, we made eighteen miles to-day.*"

It is generally expected that a writer of biography will allow himself a little license in the way of panegyric. On this ground, Mr. Sparks, who has done so much to illustrate American history, may be excused for endorsing the statements of the narrative in the following full and emphatic manner: "Such is the substance of Father Marquette's narrative; and the whole of it accords so remarkably with the descriptions of subsequent travellers, and with the actual features of the country through which he passed, as to remove every doubt of its genuineness."—(Sparks' Life of Marquette, page 290.) Again, "Marquette's narrative of this expedition, written without pretension or parade, and with a fidelity in the description of natural objects, which, although published after his death, confirms its genuineness and accuracy, is among the most valuable and interesting contributions to the early historical literature of America."—(Sparks' Life of La Salle, page 4.) Enough has perhaps already been said in these pages to show our dissent from the opinions expressed in the above extracts. We cannot but think that Mr. Sparks gave utterance to a vague general impression, which he would find it extremely difficult to confirm by actual citations or observation of the country, when he says it "accords so remarkably with the descriptions of other travellers, and with the actual features of the country." With the features of the country we are not unacquainted, having passed over the whole of the route from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas, or to the Red river, if that was the voyage, as the note of Mr. Shea gives it, with the exception of the first seventy, and of that seventy have visited one or two points. Though the country near the river on the west side, from the Maquoqueta river to the Wisconsin, is what is called there a broken country, yet it is nowhere much above the general level. We know of nothing partaking of the nature of a mountain in this region, beside Pike's Mountain, already named, except an elevation called Table Mound, near Dubuque, and Sherald's Mound, this term being

the designation for a regular shaped round or conical swell of moderate elevation, generally not exceeding two or three hundred feet high, and in these instances not of greater altitude.* We could not pretend to point out the places where the river expands to two miles and one eighth, or contracts to 220 yards. There is, undoubtedly, somewhere in the river ten fathoms, but if the early edition, which, with more of a traveller's characteristic liberality, gives us nineteen, is the true reading, we think there is no lead, in these steamboat days, bold enough to find it between the Wisconsin and Des Moines. There is one small statement, in an unimportant particular, that of the measurement of distance on the Wisconsin river, which is given by Mr. Sparks in his life of Marquette, and which is named very differently in the narrative. The last gives it as 40 leagues, (25 to a degree, equal to 112 miles;) Mr. Sparks sets it down at 175 miles. This is not, certainly, of great importance, and it is named merely because it was the only statement coming under our notice, which was made by the narrative in relation to a matter stated by Mr. Sparks himself, and which did not seem to us to accord so remarkably. As before said, the description is so vague and indistinct, for the most part, in the few particulars given, that it would not be easy to assert of them either accordance or disagreement. They are so few and relate to such prominent matters, that they might well have been given at second hand; but we can most confidently assert, that however they may accord with the statements of other travellers, they do not, for the most part, with the actual features of the country. The *general* features named are three, the numerous islands, the prairie, and the forest or wooded country, and, including these, the actual features described or named are thirteen, the great chain of mountains, the numerous islands, the greatest and least breadth, the painted rocks above the Missouri, the entrance of the Missouri, the demon, the Ohio, an iron mine, clay of three colors, canes on the banks, prairie land, and forest consisting of cotton wood, elm, and white wood. Of these only three are described, the painted rocks, the entrance of the Missouri, and the demon; and only one is distinctly located, the great chain, and the indiscreet act of giving it a local habitation exposes the falsity of it. The Missouri and Ohio are only placed by the relation of distance to each other, and this is erroneous by nearly one half. The painted rocks and the demon are located merely in being the first above the Missouri and the last between that and the Ohio. Not being

* The Blue Mounds and Platt Mounds are, however, much higher.

sufficiently acquainted with the devil, we could not say whether the narrative has truly described him, but have a strong impression to the contrary, after a brief glimpse from a steam boat. In fact, we think it amounts to a libel on the demon. There is a small rock in that part of the river, called the devil's bake-oven. We do not dispute the accordance of the description of this object with the relations of other travellers or with the reality of the feature; but having resided nearly two years between the two rivers, heard it spoken of by others, and seen it in passing, we did not imagine it to have a remote resemblance to the description given in the narrative. The story of a rapid and muddy river coming in from the west, called Missouri, of a tributary flowing in somewhere above, and of the Ohio, or Wabash, below, on the east, as well as of the prairie and wood, and numerous islands, certainly does not disagree, in the main, with the relations of other travellers, and with the actual features of the country. The knowledge of the three rivers, and of the islands, at least, however, certainly was not derived from personal observation originally, for they were made known by the Indians, and *marked on the map, before the voyage commenced.* The prairie and wood might be drawn from the like source. The painted rock and the residence of the demon would, no doubt, be of sufficient importance in the mind of the savage to be communicated at the same time. The words of the narrative relating to the map are, "marking down the rivers on which we were to sail," "the names of the nations," &c., and, as expressed by Mr. Shea, "they set down each important point to be met." We apprehend the iron mine has by some means become lost, not having heard it mentioned in the vicinity.

Mr. Shea relies chiefly on a comparison of the hand-writing of the manuscript and map with a signature in a parish register, as establishing the authenticity of the work, of itself, beyond dispute. We think a jury of experts who should be candid and unprejudiced men, could not be empannelled who would say that the hand-writing in the letter prefixed to his work and that on the map at the close are the same, or the work of the same hand. There is a very manifest difference in the form of the letters and the style of the writing, the hand on the map being much the plainer; and so far therefore as the hand writing shows the author of the narrative, it proves it to be written by some other person, not the writer of the letter.

Having dwelt upon some of these topics rather longer than our limits or the patience of readers would prescribe, yet not longer than the subject requires; some other considerations

suggested by Mr. Shea in his discussion of the question of authenticity, will be noticed with as much brevity as is consistent with a proper examination of the matter.

The two great props to support the two branches of Mr. Shea's hypothesis are, that Joliet made a report of the voyage to Frontenac, which is adduced to prove the voyage to have been made; and the hand-writing, which is supposed to show the authenticity of the narrative. Of the last we have already spoken. The other remains to be noticed. And it does seem, at the first announcement, to be pretty conclusive on the question, and apparently to establish the fact that the voyage and discovery were actually made. There is hardly room to suppose that a report from the governor of Canada to his government could contain anything but the truth on a matter of this kind. And being, as it is said, taken from the Paris documents at Albany, it seems to come to us with claims to be received as an official document. Yet it states a matter, the falsity of which is unquestionable, and that, a falsification of the great hydrographical problem which it was the sole object of the voyage to illustrate: namely, the connexion formed by the waters of the Mississippi between the country west of Canada and the sea. The report or letter of Frontenac states that he (Joliet) "has discovered a navigation so easy by the fine rivers that he found, that *from the Lake Ontario and Fort Frontenac one may go by boat (en barque) quite to the Gulph of Mexico, having to make but a single discharge, at the place where Lake Erie falls into Lake Ontario.*" A man who would thus make a false report in relation to the most important matter connected with his voyage, would not scruple to falsify in relation to the voyage itself. The rule of common sense, alike with that of the common law, on this point is, that a witness who will deliberately falsify in one important particular is not to be believed in any part of his testimony. The time of Joliet's absence from Quebec and return thither is not unworthy of notice. He is said to have gone down the Mississippi in June 1674, instead of 1673, as the narrative ascribed to Marquette relates. This might have been passed over as a slip of the pen, not unusual. But his return to Quebec seems to confirm the date of 1674 as the time when he went, *somewhere uncertain*. The letter of Frontenac, date November 14, 1674, states that Joliet has returned to Quebec *within the past three months*, from his voyage of discovery; by which it seems that his absence was in that year, when it is related that Marquette had been sick that whole summer at St. Francois. If Mr. Shea should report to the governor of New York that he had passed from the Hud-

son over to the waters of the St. Lawrence and down to the sea, and that he had found a clear navigation for boats from the Hudson to the sea in that direction, before the days of the Champlain canal, such a statement would be universally considered a sufficient reason for believing that he had not made the pretended voyage. And that belief would not be shaken by the very convenient occurrence of overturning his canoe and losing his papers in sight of Albany.*

Mr. Shea mentions two very remarkable circumstances, tending strongly to throw discredit on the narrative, though he names them only as acts of injustice to Marquette. He says: "the court allowed the whole affair to pass unnoticed," (p. 34.) This great discovery, by which the second river in the world was first made known, and by which 1,000,000 square miles of the richest territory under the sun was added, or might be added, to the French possessions on this continent, was treated by the French government as of no more importance than an old wife's tale. It seems to us, certainly, significant of something more than a willingness to do injustice to the good Father Marquette. The other fact is of a similar kind, and named as proof of the same injustice in another quarter. He says, (Life of Marquette, p. 75,) the narrative "was overlooked and nearly forgotten; all the writers connected with La Salle's expedition, except the first edition of Hennepin, published in 1683, speak of Joliet's voyage as a fiction. Marquette they never mention; but in Le Clercq, and those whom he cites—in the second Hennepin, in Joutel, in all, in fact, except the faithful Tonti, the narrative of Marquette is derided, called a fable, or narrative of a pretended voyage." It does, we confess, to our mind, indicate something else than injustice to Marquette, that all cotemporary writers should call it a fable and a pretended voyage. The concurrent testimony of cotemporary writers is usually received as proof of the matter which they agree in representing. "*All but the faithful Tonti:—itself a fable and counterfeit. Tonti disclaimed the authorship of the work under his name.*" If this were written by the same hand as the narrative of Marquette, (as before suggested,) it would be natural enough that "the faithful Tonti" should speak well of the "accurate Marquette," though all others should agree in treating the book as a fable. "Most writers," (further says Mr. Shea,) "in France and elsewhere, passed over it,

* The report of Frontenac states "having lost all his memoirs and journals in the shipwreck which he made in sight of Montreal, in which he expected to have been drowned after having made a voyage of 1,200 leagues, and lost all his papers and a little 'savage' (verbatim) whom he brought from those countries."

and in works on the *Mississippi*, no discovery prior to that of *La Salle* is mentioned. Even Harris, who cites *Marquette*, by name, as describing the calumet, and calls him a man of good sense and fair character, does not give him due credit as the first explorer.

"Indeed, the services and narrative would hardly have escaped from oblivion had not Charlevoix brought them to light in his great work on Canada, nearly seventy years after the events."

Charlevoix, however, is by no means sufficiently careful in his statements to be received as a reliable witness for establishing, on his sole testimony, facts related as transpiring seventy years before, and up to his time denied or discredited by all others. In order that this testimony of one witness, of a later generation, for the first time tending to establish a matter so long discredited may be fairly judged and duly appreciated, a few extracts and references are presented, made at random on opening the volume of Charlevoix, in those pages having direct relation to the subject of the discovery, and to some points in the geography of the river. The absence of both clearness and accuracy, in the pages of Charlevoix, is quite remarkable. If by the river of Bulls he designates the stream now called Salt river, about twenty-seven or thirty leagues above the Illinois, Charlevoix would be sufficiently correct for a general statement in saying that the river of Bulls is twenty leagues above the Illinois. But he says the Assenisippi, or Rock river, is forty leagues further. Rock river is 290 miles, or about 104 French leagues above the Illinois, in fact, instead of sixty leagues, as he gives. This difference is by no means sufficient to cause any distrust of veracity, or to impeach an author even for want of general accuracy. It is eminently accurate compared with other statements on the same page, (295, *Voyage to Canada*,) for example: "*Assenisippi, or the river of the Rock, so called because it is over against a mountain, which is in the bed of the Mississippi, and where some travellers have affirmed there was rock crystal.*" Now, this is wholly fabulous. In the bed of the Mississippi, opposite to the mouth of Rock river, are two low flat islands, not more than fifteen feet above the ordinary stage of water, and wholly of alluvion, and the opposite shore of the river is the same, so low that its settlement as a town was discouraged as liable to overflow, and it is, in fact, frequently in part overflowed. There is neither mountain nor rock on either, except the bluff, which lines the whole Mississippi, and which, at this point, is a mile or more back of the river bank. The river in question runs

on a rock bottom, an unusual circumstance in that region, and which probably suggested the name. There is not, in fact, a mountain in the bed of the Mississippi, nor any thing having semblance of a hill, between the Wisconsin and Illinois. "Twenty-five leagues higher we find the Ouisconsin." The French league is twenty-five to a degree. So the Wisconsin is seventy miles above Rock river. Its real distance is 210 miles, or precisely three times that asserted. "On the left, about sixty leagues above the river of Bulls, we see the Moingona come out of an immense and magnificent meadow," &c. Rock river is placed forty leagues above the river of Bulls; Moingona sixty leagues above the same; Wisconsin twenty-five leagues above Rock. So the Des Moines river is twenty leagues higher up stream on the Mississippi than Rock river, instead of 125 miles below it, as it really is, and only five leagues lower than the Wisconsin. The distance from the Des Moines to the Wisconsin is 330 miles.

At coming out of the Lake (Pepin,) again, he says, "we meet with L'Isle Peleé.* Three leagues below L'Isle Peleé, we leave, on the right hand, the river St. Croix." Thus he places the St. Croix on the lake. This river is 35 miles, or 12½ French leagues, above the upper end of Lake Pepin, and above instead of below the mountain La Grange, which is probably L'Isle Peleé.

But the inaccuracy of Charlevoix is more conspicuous in his location of the village of Illinois Indians visited by Marquette. "They had not made much distance" (Marquette and his company) "before they met the Illinois. They came upon three villages of this nation *three leagues below the place where the Missouri, which Father Marquette calls Pechitanoni in his relation, unites its waters to those of the Mississippi.*"—(Hist. Gen. de Nouv. Fr., p. 249.)

The absence of clearness is not less remarkable than the inaccuracies of this writer. He mentions the arrival of La Sale in Canada under the year 1676, and after having said that the departure of Talon and death of Marquette (in 1675) had caused the Mississippi to be lost sight of, says he, La Sale, entered into the views of Talon in respect to the *discovery* of the grand river and countries which it waters. His first project was to seek a passage to China and Japan by the northwest from Canada; and he occupied himself in acquiring the knowledge, and arranging the preliminaries which could be necessary to his design. He was in this occupation when Joliet arrived at Montreal from the discovery of the river, which, according to Frontenac's report before mentioned,

* Perhaps more properly L'Isle Pelé, Bald island.

was in the fall of 1674.—(Hist. Gen. de N. Fr., p. 263, 264.)

Not less indistinct is he in his mention of the rapids and the lead mines. "A league above the Moingonan" (which he places 20 leagues above Rock river) "there are two falls in the Mississippi, which are pretty long, where they unload and tow the pettiaugre, and above the second fall, that is to say, 21 leagues from the Moingona," (which should be 16 leagues above the Wisconsin,) "they find on both sides of the river lead mines."

The lead on the east side of the river is three times the distance above the Des Moines, or 180 miles; on the west side as much, and about 70 miles above the upper rapids; the interval between the rapids nearly 100 miles.

It would be hardly safe to rely on a writer who is so indistinct and so inaccurate for establishing the truth of a matter denied by many cotemporary writers, overlooked by the government to whom it was of first importance, and discredited by so many strong circumstances. These statements exhibit great carelessness. Indeed, from instances not few like the above, one might suppose that Father Charlevoix caught up all that he heard in the streets or the wigwams, and cast it reeking on his page, without giving a thought either about its correctness or consistency. The mere variation from actual measure in stating distances on a river is of no account, but the above extracts, taken in the whole, exhibit a want of carefulness which must greatly disturb a faith resting on Charlevoix, in defiance of the opinions of all cotemporaries and so many and strong circumstances.

The discovery of the Mississippi opened a new world to the knowledge of men. Of more importance than any which a century and a half had brought forth in relation to the western hemisphere, it naturally enough offered a groundwork for a series of fictions and romances invented by their authors for the purpose of feeding themselves and furnishing aliment at the same time to the public curiosity. This could easily be done, in anticipation of the event, from such maps and relations as the Indians might supply. Some of this class of writings, probably, have long since passed away and been forgotten; while others, escaping the accidents of time, survive the intervening century and a half to our day. That bearing the name of Tonti, it may well be supposed, was not a single instance of this counterfeit class of literary works. In a letter prefixed to the narrative of Joutel, Joliet's relation was spoken of as a fiction; for evidence that the volume

under the name of Marquette was also so regarded, it is not necessary to look further than the pages of Mr. Shea.

The Mississippi had been casually found by De Soto, in 1542, but not in any proper sense discovered. For he saw only a few leagues of its course, from which he obtained no idea of its rise, direction, extent or relations with the continent. And in a memorial to King William, appended to the History of Carolana, by Coxe, it is said that, in 1678, a number of persons went from New England to New Mexico, in which expedition they crossed the Mississippi, and on their return gave an account of their discovery to the governor at Boston. It is not known that their report is now in existence. If the journey and report were actually made, the documents relating to it may have been consumed in the fire by which it is known many papers in the archives of the State of Massachusetts were destroyed, or they may have been sent, as would be probable, to the home government, and be still in existence in the Plantation Office in London. Mr. Coxe also states that Colonel Wood, living in Virginia, near the falls of James river, had previously been upon some of its tributaries.

A circumstance is mentioned by Du Pratz, which may be considered as giving some confirmation to the story, that a party from Massachusetts had been to the Mississippi. He says, (quoting from Dumont, v. 2, p. 296,) four leagues up the Yazoo from the mouth is a fort, and the settlement of Le Blanc. The village of the Indians (Yazoos) is a league from this settlement, and on one side of it is a hill on which they pretend that the English formerly had a fort; accordingly there are still some traces of it to be seen, (Du Pratz, p. 60.) If the English had a fort there, it is not improbable they were the company from Massachusetts mentioned by Coxe, since no other company of English have been reported to have visited it previously, so far as we have seen.

The vast valley of this river, limiting the estimate to the bounds of the fertile land on the west of the Mississippi, may be said to contain, at the lowest computation, 800,000 square miles; and this great area has but a very small portion of waste lands. There is none scarcely, which is of a permanently unproductive and barren character, incapable, by the nature of the soil, of cultivation. That which is waste is made so by overflow and immersion. Of this kind of land, much that is so classed may be reclaimed and made productive, its soil being generally of the richest quality. A tract of 25,000 or 30,000 miles, being a strip of seventy or one hundred miles wide, extending across southern Louisiana and

coming to a point near the Trinity, which is alluvial soil, has much land that is rendered waste by overflow. But excepting this, the really unproductive land, or perhaps the whole, including this strip, could not amount to one-tenth part of the valley.

The surface of this region is uncommonly uniform, rising regularly from the mouth to the source of the Mississippi arm in the north to 1,680 feet. The eastern shed of the stream is nearly level, the descent of the branches on that side being very small, while the western shed has a much greater slope, and the corresponding latitudes on the Missouri, above 42° , are of about double the elevation of the same parallels on the Mississippi. Nicollet states, as the result of more than one hundred observations taken at Camp Kearney, near Council Bluffs, that that point is 1,037 feet above the water of the Gulf of Mexico, and the elevation of Rock island, in the same latitude on the Mississippi, is 528; Fort Pierre Chouteau, on the Missouri, he states at 1,456, and the lower end of Lake Pepin, in the same latitude, 710. The whole of this great shed is almost destitute of any shape resembling hills or mountains. It has a chain of mountains in the western parts of Arkansas and Missouri, called the Ozarks; and in the region bordering the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, a range of mountains commences which extends nearly to Lake Superior. The northern portion of the range is known under the name of Porcupine hills. The most considerable of those in the southern part of the range are known as the Ocooch, or Smoky hills, the Platte mounds, and the Blue mounds, the last being 1,000 feet above the Wisconsin. There are some hills, also called Smoky, on the Missouri. These, with an extensive plateau of high table land, called the Coteau des Prairies, near the Missouri on the east, and a very few single hills, called mounds usually, constitute all the ground that is elevated above the general level on this side of the Black hills, far in the northwest. The surface of the plain is cut into ravines, down to the level of the streams, which are mostly three hundred feet, or more, below the surface of the country, and the descent and ascent of these slopes are frequently spoken of by the residents as hills. They are not elevations but depressions, by which the surface of the valley is drained. Coming up to the summit, or hauteur, about the sources of the Mississippi and Red rivers, from which one stream runs to Hudson's bay, and the other to the Gulf of Mexico, is a great lake country, where the waters, not finding a slope, are held up in a group of lakes, and form a beautiful and picturesque feature in the topography of this summit land.

A very large proportion of the valley, it may be safely said three-fourths at least of all the productive land, is prairie, or natural meadow. For centuries upon centuries the feeding ground of the buffalo, it is consequently excellent pasture and choice land for stock raising. The growth is so luxuriant that it may be assumed to be capable of supporting one head of neat cattle to an acre. Probably its capacity is really much greater in this line. In grain growing, it will be a moderate estimate to rate its capacity at twenty bushels of wheat to an acre. On this basis an approximation may be made to the actual total productive capacity of the valley. The whole area comprises 512 million acres, from which if there be deducted one-fourth part for timber land, leaving 384,000,000 acres of prairie, and from this one-tenth be subtracted for unproductive land, we have 345,600,000 acres of productive prairie. The half of this would raise 172,800,000 cattle, or its equivalent in horses and sheep. And the other half, sown with wheat, would give for yearly produce 3,456,000,000 bushels of this grain. If two barrels of flour, or its equivalent, ten bushels of wheat, will suffice for one person a year, the wheat raised on half the tract will furnish breadstuff for 345,600,000 persons, or nearly one-half the present population of the world. Or the whole, in wheat, will yield enough to supply with bread 700,000,000 persons, or seven-eighths of the population of the world.

The eastern portion of the valley, and extending a considerable distance westward of the Mississippi, is principally of the mountain limestone formation, of that member of the group known as cliff limestone, resting upon silurian rocks, and supporting extensive and important coal fields. This is covered, in most or all portions of the tract, with erratic deposits, varying in depth from a merely superficial thickness to 150 feet. The cliff limestone of Owen, or carboniferous limestone of Featherstonhaugh, or compact sublamellar limestone of Nicollet, which probably each indicates the same thing, (though the carboniferous properly defines the group, of which the other terms describe a member,) is said by Featherstonhaugh to continue for a thousand miles, to the Falls of St. Anthony. According to Mr. Owen, however, the northern termination of that member of the series which he calls the cliff limestone is coincident with the line of the productive lead region as defined by him, a few miles north of the Wisconsin river. On the Upper Mississippi, above the falls, the silurian formation gives place to the primary, and on the Upper Missouri, in the northwest, the carboniferous

ceases and the cretaceous commences. A vegetable soil, varying in depth usually from one to three feet, covers the whole, making the tilling soil of the region in the prairie.

The carboniferous limestone, which makes such an important feature in the geology of this valley, is said by Nicollet to be the predominant rock on the Missouri, near the Council Bluffs, where it is a continuation of that which underlies so vast an extent of the Mississippi valley, and with a much larger development east of the principal river, extending to the Alleghanies. In ascending the Missouri above Council Bluffs, Mr. Nicollet found this carboniferous series to run out and terminate, and he considered the mouth of the Little Sioux river to be its limit in that direction, about south-west from its limit on the other stream at the falls. From the little Sioux upward, he supposes the cretaceous formation may extend a thousand miles to the northwest.

The opinion of Mr. Keating differs somewhat from the other gentlemen. He considers that which is called carboniferous limestone by the others to be rather analogous to the newer magnesian limestone of England, as denominated by Conybeare and Phillips and the *rechstein* of Freisleben. In this opinion he is evidently mistaken, as its southern dip shows it to underlie the coal.

That member of the mountain limestone group which Mr. Owen calls the cliff limestone, and which he says is in some districts of the valley, especially in its eastern portion, sparingly developed, swells in the Wisconsin lead region into the most important member of the group, being of the thickness of upward five hundred feet. The general geological character of the portion of the valley explored by him, (in his first exploration,) or the northeastern portion, is thus summed up by him: "It belongs to that class of rocks called by recent geologists secondary, and by others occasionally included in the transition series. It belongs, further, to a division of this class of rocks described in Europe as the mountain limestone, or sometimes as the carboniferous, or metaliferous, or encrinital limestone. And it belongs yet more especially to a subdivision of this group, known popularly, where it occurs in the west, as the cliff limestone, and described under that name by the geologists of Ohio.

"This last is the rock formation, in which the lead, copper, iron, and zinc of the region under consideration are almost exclusively found; and its unusual development, doubtless, much conduces to the extraordinary mineral riches of this favored region."

This rock, differing somewhat from that geologically termed the magnesian limestone, is yet, speaking with reference to its constituents, a magnesian limestone, being found to contain thirty-five or forty per cent. of carbonate of magnesia, and about twenty per cent. of pure magnesia. It contains, as above said, all the metals with which this valley region abounds, and which render it as rich in this department as it is, or may be, in cereal production, bearing within its bosom, in great abundance, copper, iron, lead, zinc, beside the inexhaustible beds of coal which underlie the surface in most portions of the tract.

In a paper on the mineral region and resources of Missouri, in Hunt's Merchants' Magazine for July 1846, by Israel Dille, of Ohio, the writer describes the country as geologically different from the country higher up, and as very various. He says, "the geology of this country is exceedingly interesting; peculiarly so, because groups, of periods very remote from each other, from the granite up to the oolite, are found within a small scope of territory. Along the course of the Mississippi, from St. Louis to the mouth of the Ohio, the prevailing rock which crops out is the limestone. At Commerce and Cape Girardeau, and for some miles further up, this rock is of the older silurian series, containing but few organic remains. A few orthocerae are all I have seen or heard of. Here the rock is a compact, semi-crystalline, pure limestone, well adapted for architectural purposes, and making good lime. It inclines to the north. But as you approach St. Mary's Landing, seventy-five miles below St. Louis, the upper silurian lime rock, abounding in fossil remains, crops out, with an inclination to the north or northeast, at an angle of near 30° . In this rock I have seen, as yet, but few testacea. Crinoidea prevail, with an occasional cyathophyllum. A few miles in the direction of the inclination, in Illinois, you come to the coal formation on the Kaskaskia. And at St. Genevieve, six miles to the northwest, the oolite is found going south from St. Mary's, a coarse grained sand rock crops out, which has a dip conformable to the lime rock overlying it. Again the lime rock reappears, presenting a very interesting appearance and effect, over a very great extent of country. Next to this we come to a hard, seamy, silico-calcareous rock, of no common inclination. I have seen it dipping in every direction. Overlying it on the summits of the hills, are, nearest the river, a hard chert silicious rock, and fragmentary quartz, agate, jasper, and chalcedonis. Some twenty-five or thirty miles from the river, on this road, the granite and trap rock begin to appear. Some

of the richest lead mines are found several miles before you reach the region of igneous rock."*

It appears by this description of Mr. Dille that the silurian members of St. Anthony's, together with the primitive rocks of the more northern part of the tract, here come to the surface, are intimately associated, and that the position of the stratified rocks is greatly inclined, seeming to indicate a powerful volcanic action. The upper rocks of the Iowa and Wisconsin formation have disappeared. The indications, in these geological features, of volcanic action, concur with the appearance of the surface, presenting signs of former submergence, to show that the valley has been upheaved, displacing an old ocean with a million square miles of productive dry land, and making two continents one.

The dip of the strata in the upper portion of the valley being south, it may be assumed that the upper rocks to the south of the Illinois coal field are of the later formations. The prevalent rocks of this portion of the valley, near the river, we believe, are the magnesian and the oolitic limestones.

The lead region of Iowa and Wisconsin, as designated by Mr. Owen, is principally confined to the northern part of the cliff limestone formation of those States. All the valuable deposits of lead ore occur in the crevices of this cliff rock, or in the recent deposits which overlies it. These crevices, and the veins of ore filling them, vary greatly in thickness, from less than an inch to many feet. The most common diameter of those filled with mineral is from one inch to four inches. The extent of the lead deposit in this part of the valley is, according to Mr. Owen, fifty-four miles from north to south, and eighty-seven miles from east to west, lying on both sides of the Mississippi river. The copper region has an unknown but probably great extent south and west of Lake Superior. The mineral has been found on the Wisconsin in latitude 43° , while the principal deposit is between 46° and 47° . If these and the ore found by Le Sueur constitute the parts of one deposit, it would have an extent of six degrees from east to west, and four north and south, or nearly three hundred miles square.† The Wisconsin lead mines, extensive as they

* There must be some mistake in this description of Mr. Dille. If the Silurian rocks crop out at St. Mary's with an inclination to the north, the dip is consequently south, and we should have the silurian rocks superposed upon the oolites and other rocks of the upper secondary series, which cannot be the case.

† The difference in the formations of the Lake Superior and the Rock river countries must be supposed to prove conclusively, however, that the two "diggings" are not parts of one deposit. Those of Wisconsin are included within a formation of a date much posterior to the copper of Lake Superior; and the Missouri copper is found in a formation differing from both.

are, by no means comprehend all the galena of the valley. Another large deposit lies on the south of the Missouri. Copper also is found in this last tract.

But those great sources of wealth to a nation, the coal and iron, it may be said are everywhere. The coal underlies nearly all the State of Illinois, about a fourth part of Indiana, large tracts in Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Iowa, and the country west of these last. The principal deposit of iron is in Missouri, where is the most remarkable locality of this mineral to be found in the world. And Mr. Mather's report estimates that in 12,000 square miles of the State of Kentucky there may be an average depth of one yard of iron ore in the coal formation alone, and that in the slate and limestone regions there may be as much more, which, at one ton of bar iron to a cubic yard of ore, will give 38,400,000,000 tons on the 12,000 square miles. Though the absolute amount of iron in this State, great as it is, does not equal that in Missouri, yet, by its greater diffusion and more ready availability for use and for exportation, it may, perhaps, not be less valuable.

Beyond 98° of longitude, in the Territory of Kansas, the valley decreases in fertility until it becomes utterly sterile, or nearly so, and presents a broad belt of unproductive land. This sterility, however, does not proceed, as is usually the case, from the deficiency of those salts which are necessary to vegetation and give productiveness to lands, but from a superabundance of them, as appears. For we learn from the report of Lieutenant Pike, the history of Stoddard, the recent explorations toward New Mexico, and other descriptions, that many parts of the country contain soda and other salts in large quantities, so as to form incrustations of much thickness, and to render many of the streams quite salt. Several of the tributaries of the Kansas and the Arkansas are of this description, and salt springs abound in all or most of the States of the valley.

Within the first half century succeeding the discovery of the river, a few settlements were made from Canada and from New Orleans upward to the Arkansas, and in the space between the Ohio and Missouri, and upon the Wabash and Ohio. During the eighty years of the French dominion, however, the colonists were an exceedingly small number. Under the English sway of twenty years, the northern portion of Louisiana, as the whole country west of the river, and an indeterminate limit east of it was designated, remained in about the same condition as when ceded by the French; and the southern portion, in the forty years that it was in the

hands of Spain made but little progress. The first century closed upon it almost the same wilderness that the white man first found it. At this period the eastern part of the valley became a portion of the United States, with the establishment of an independent government, and twenty years later the great tract west with the present State of Louisiana became ours by treaty. For a time, even the last change, which might be deemed auspicious to the settlement of the country, produced no great improvement in this respect; and up to 1820, when steam introduced population, and with it industry and trade, the valley was still with the stillness of death throughout most of its vast extent, save where it resounded to the war-hoop or the hunting cry of its wild natives. In 1819 the first steamboat went up to St. Louis, and it appears by the report of Rev. J. Morse to the Secretary of War that, in the same year there were but three families settled from the mouth of the Illinois up for two hundred and forty miles. This point was the limit of settlement at that time, and the traders of the little town of St. Louis, which has since become the great commercial mart for a population of a million, and for the productions of the whole region north and west of it, then purchased their small stocks of trade at the flourishing town of Kaskaskia. By the power of steam this fertile valley has been peopled and cultivated. At about the same period, indeed, commenced the concurrent action of two mighty causes, steam navigation and European emigration, the last of which, crowding the population east of the mountains, has had a great influence in filling the rich domain of the river with settlements. By these means chiefly, in the period of one generation, the population has become ten fold that of all that inhabited Louisiana at the close of the four generations preceeding. And in the absence of these causes, the country would probably have been at this day but little advanced over its condition at the period when they begun to operate, or over that which the banks of the greater and richer Amazon now present.

In 1803, at the time of the cession, the population of the city was 8,056, and of the province 49,473, of which last number 42,000 were within the present boundaries of the State of Louisiana. The whole population of the valley, by the census of 1800, was, exclusive of the above, 385,647. Of this, 220,955 were in Kentucky. In 1820, at the period of the introduction of steam it amounted to 2,217,464; in 1850, 9,494,525. Thus something over nine million people have been added to the valley in fifty years.

It is a distinguishing peculiarity of this valley that, while

it has a richness almost unparalleled in mineral deposits, it is fertile beyond all other lands, and offers to the husbandman the most bountiful rewards in return for comparatively light labors. The superficial soil of the prairie, throughout the greatest part of the extent of the tract, consists of a dark-colored vegetable mould, exceedingly mellow, of the easiest possible tillage, and so rich that it is incapable of improvement by the addition of extraneous fertilizers. This vegetable mould seems mostly unmixed with earthy or mineral matter, except in some parts with a small proportion of sand. The traveller may proceed, in some States, from one boundary to its opposite, without meeting anything in shape of rock or stone, beside the outcropping lime that underlies the whole and comes in sight at the river banks. This mould, in northern Illinois, is said to be from nine to eighteen inches in depth. In Iowa it is much deeper, being usually from eighteen to thirty inches or more. The husbandman of the Atlantic slope, who has passed years of ill-requited toil in scratching among the hard rocks and stubborn soils of his native hills, from which he coaxes his meagre porridge only by a great outlay of fertilizing matters and the most unstinted expenditure of his life and strength, would find his astonishment greatly excited to see whole States covered with a mould richer than his garden, and to put his hand upon a plough which does not demand the strength of a child to direct and manage it.

The growth of the grasses, of which there is a great variety, the spontaneous product of the soil, is luxuriant to excess. There is probably no better pasture land, natural or artificial, on the earth. It is superior to other lands alike for the feeding of the domestic animals as for affording sustenance to man, and for furnishing for his use those minerals of greatest value in the arts, and of most general necessity. It offers abundance and ease to the crowds of distressed laborers, harassed and overborne by the excessive competition in the thronged avenues of life, and to the unrewarded, toiling tillers of the barren lands east of the mountains, as well as to the oppressed and famishing millions of the superannuated hemisphere beyond the sea.

The principal articles of production of this rich valley, which pass down the river by way of St. Louis, are lead, tobacco, furs and peltries, wheat, flour, hemp, corn, and other agricultural products, and cattle, horses, mules, hogs, pork, and lard. These, for the most part, go to New Orleans; and the products of the lower valley, carried to the same market,

are sugar, cotton, rice, tobacco, corn, cattle, and horses and mules.

The receipts of a few leading articles into New Orleans from the interior, in 1846, were: of flour, 806,696 barrels; wheat, 1,187,745 bushels; corn, 4,760,561 bushels.

The total value of goods and produce received in this year was \$77,183,524, of which about four-fifths was the value of the produce received from the interior. At the same period 1,500,000 barrels of flour were sent the other way to eastern ports, the produce of the States bordering on the lakes, of which it may be assumed that one-half was from the Mississippi valley. A great portion of the lead, also, finds a market in the same direction. Of this last article, in the absence of an exact statement, it may be safely said that 500,000 pigs from the upper mines go annually by way of St. Louis, and half that amount by the lakes and other avenues; and the Missouri mines, perhaps, add 200,000 pigs to this amount, which, at from \$2 to \$2 50 per pig, would exceed \$2,000,000 in value.

The exports from Louisiana were, of domestic produce, in the year ending June 30, 1850, \$37,698,277; 1851, \$58,968,013; 1852, \$48,808,169; 1853, \$67,768,724.

The proceeds of the fur trade are estimated at over half a million dollars.

By the returns of the census of 1850 it appears that in the settled portions of the valley there were 692,270 farms in cultivation; 34,194 manufactories producing over \$500; 47,775,302 acres in farms improved; 80,759,985 acres in farms unimproved; and \$49,017,564 exports of five States.

Of the last item \$38,105,350 was from Louisiana, and \$10,544,858 from Alabama.

The above statements, as well as that of the population of the valley, are exclusive of Texas, but include Alabama and Michigan.

The shipments of grain from Chicago were, in 1854, wheat, 2,106,725 bushels; corn, 6,837,899 bushels; oats, 3,229,987 bushels; rye, 41,153 bushels; barley, 148,421 bushels; in 1855, wheat, 6,208,155 bushels; corn, 7,517,625 bushels; oats, 1,889,538 bushels; rye, 19,318 bushels; barley, 22,082 bushels, which include but a small fraction of the products of the valley, the principal portion going to New Orleans, while some, also, is taken off by railroads and other routes to Savannah, Charleston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia.

It would not be easy to make an exaggerated statement of the surpassing richness of the soil of this valley, and its excellence for pastoral and arable purposes. This country,

probably one of the most remarkable on the earth for the variety, extent and abundance of its mineral deposits, is not, as mineral lands are usually found, barren or unproductive; but on the contrary, it excels, as already said, all other lands in the richness and easy culture of the soil. "It is a common and usually a correct remark," says Mr. Owen, "that mineral regions are barren and unproductive. As Buckland has well expressed it, in the opening of his *Bridgewater treatise*, 'if a stranger, landing at the extremity of England, were to traverse the whole of Cornwall and the north of Devonshire, and crossing to St. David's, should make the tour of all north Wales, and passing thence through Cumberland, by the Isle of Man, to the southwestern shore of Scotland, should proceed either by the hilly region of the border counties, or along the Grampians to the German ocean, he would conclude from such a journey of many hundred miles, that Britain was a thinly peopled, sterile region, whose principal inhabitants were miners and mountaineers.'

"Not so," continues Mr. Owen, "the traveller through the mining districts of western America. These afford promise of liberal reward no less to the husbandman than to the miner; and a chemical examination of the soils gives assurance that the promise will be amply fulfilled."

In one particular we think there is a general error in the eastern part of the United States, in regard to the valley of the Mississippi, that is, concerning the effect of the climate upon the health. The opinion is pretty extensive that the mortality is greater in the valley, and especially in the southern portion of it, and upon the rivers, than in other parts of the country, particularly the northern portion east of the mountains. We think this opinion incorrect. Diseases come, for the most part, in a different form; but it may be doubted if the amount of sickness or mortality is any greater. In the valley, the disorders are of the liver and biliary organs, and bowels mostly. In the Atlantic slope, the northern part, they are of the bronchis and its membranes, the pleura and pulmonary organs. In the vicinity of New Orleans the country has suffered much, at three or four periods, from yellow fever and cholera. There have been seasons of extraordinary and alarming mortality from these epidemics. But we believe the remark made by some physicians that these occurrences of unusual mortality have their compensating periods, and are generally succeeded by years of health, so that, in a series of years, the mortality will not be greater than in districts exempt from the epi-

demic, is true. In our *very healthy* northeastern States, the mortality for ten years will probably be found as great, at least, as that of Louisiana. By the census of 1850 it appears that the mortality of the New England States was one to sixty-four; that of the Middle States with Ohio, one to seventy-two; of the Central slave States, one to seventy-three; and of the coast planting States, (that is, the southwestern States,) one to seventy-three; while that of the northwestern States was one to eighty. That of the United States was one to seventy-three. By this it will be seen that New England is the most unhealthy portion of the Union, and that the northwestern States are the most healthy. While those which, in New England, are considered most unhealthy, have the number of deaths in exact ratio to the number in the whole United States, and much less than the ratio in New England. It is to be considered that in the new settlements, in the northwest, most of the population consists of young men, in the vigor of life, to which, in part, is to be attributed the low rate of mortality. The result of our personal observation is that there are as many old people, and as many healthy looking old people, in New Orleans as in any eastern city of the same size. And we find this personal experience confirmed by Du Pratz, who lived many years in New Orleans and Natchez. This historian says, "The air is perfectly good there," (south part of Louisiana,) "the blood is pure, the people are healthy, subject to few diseases in the vigor of life, and without decrepitude in old age, which they carry to a far greater length than in France. People live to a long and agreeable old age in Louisiana, if they are but sober and temperate."

And speaking, in another place, of the country about the present northern limit of the State, and southern portion of Arkansas, he says, "It is a great pity so good and fine a country is distant from the sea upwards of two hundred leagues. Wheat thrives extremely well here, without being obliged ever to manure the land, and I am so prepossessed in its favor that I persuade myself the beauty of the climate has a great influence on the character of the inhabitants, who are at the same time very gentle and very brave."

New Orleans is by no means distinguished or marked by any pre-eminence on account of the prevalence of epidemics, or their fatal effects on the population. London has, in former days, been visited with diseases of this character as terrible as any that have scourged New Orleans. So also it is with Paris, and so, with both cities, it may be again.

In Maine and Canada, where robust and unvarying health

is supposed to be endemical, there have been yet periods in the settlement of portions of those countries, perhaps attendant or consequent on the breaking up of the soil, where disease has swept off great numbers of the population.

In the upper valley, which term designates the country to the north of the junction of the Missouri, the air is arid, and, by that quality, the vicissitudes of temperature are rendered harmless to the health, compared with an equal change in the moister atmosphere near the sea coast. If there are no more deaths from bilious disorders in the valley than from consumptions and the kindred diseases of the membranes of the lungs and throat, in the answering latitude upon the coast, the account may be considered as having a balance in favor of the valley, where these last diseases are unknown.

The principal difference in the climate upon the Atlantic slope and the Mississippi valley seems to be broadly this. Upon the Atlantic coast bilious disorders prevail up to about the line of 40 degrees, and north of that the diseases of this kind are less common, and that class, neither less formidable nor less fatal, which prey upon the lungs and throat, succeed; while upon the river, the bilious disorders are not limited by latitude, but prevail in the north, as well as the south, to the exclusion of the pulmonary and kindred classes. They occasionally prevail, with unusual virulence, at certain points in the south.

Climate becomes changed by the goetechnic labors of man. The plough disengages elements shut up by the clod, which are received into the atmosphere, and impart to it new qualities. The effects, at first, are unfavorable to the health, producing bilious and febrile distempers; and as cultivation spreads over former wastes, and the bogs of centuries become converted into vineyards and gardens, the two powerful and active causes of drainage and the growth of the new vegetation introduced by the farmer again modify the atmosphere, by the introduction of new elements into it, and withdrawing others from it, and a climate of different action on the health succeeds. These several stages of change are now going on in different portions of the valley. The newer settlements feel the effects of the first change, and the second condition has already arrived to the older States of that region. The whole of the great valley is now rapidly filling with inhabitants. For the three years last past especially, the amount of the land sales has quadrupled that of any former continued period of years. If that may be assumed as a guide to the increase of population, and if it should be continued, in the same ratio, to the time of the next decennial enumeration,

the return will show a population about double that of the last census. With every new family that goes upon the soil of this rich and inexhaustible granery, there goes out an increase to the mountain of wheat that is yearly exported for the sustenance of the great world of consumers outside. In another generation its numbers will give law to the country, and in two, its fields may feed the world.

THE COTTON PLANT.

ADDRESS TO THE IMPERIAL AND CENTRAL AGRICULTURE SOCIETY OF FRANCE, BY
HON. WILLIAM ELLIOTT, COMMISSIONER FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

It is scarcely possible, gentlemen, to exaggerate the importance of the department over which you preside. Agriculture furnishes *subsistence* to the human family, and up to that point at which it enables one to provide subsistence for many, there is no progress; there is no civilization. But from this first stage, gentlemen, it seems to me that agricultural science has made an imposing stride. She is no longer content with subsisting, she now aspires to clothe the world. Besides the fabrics manufactured from flax and other textile crops with which, from time immemorial, she has improved the condition of mankind, she has now added another, to which the fleeces of a hundred thousand flocks bear no comparison in the benefits conferred on our species. I refer to cotton. Having been made aware of the honor intended me, of an invitation to meet you, in my capacity of an agriculturist, I have supposed that I could not better express my appreciation of it than by offering you some remarks on the cultivation of this great staple, of which my experience, though casual and interrupted, reaches over a period of forty-four years.

The cotton of commerce, now grown so extensively in the United States of America, is not the product of the cotton tree, "*Gossypium Arboreum*," found in India and other tropical countries; but is an annual plant or shrub, and is renewed every year from the seed. Not that the root will not live through a moderate winter, and if the dead stalk be cut off in the spring, will send forth shoots, to bear fruit through a second season; these shoots, which bore the name of "*ratoon*," were once allowed to grow; but experience having decided against its expediency, this plan has been totally abandoned, while that of renewing the plant annually, by the deposit of fresh seed, has been adopted in its place.

Various kinds of cotton were indigenous in America; and there is evidence to show that Columbus found it in Mexico,

in 1519; Pizarro in Peru, in 1522; and De Vaca in Texas and Louisiana, in 1536. If in Cuba, for example, the cottons used by the Indian population at the time of the discovery were the product of the cotton tree, or "*Gossypium Arboreum*", the presumption nevertheless is, that in other regions in which, at that early period, it is known that the aborigines were familiar with its uses, the fibre was procured from the annual plant now known as green-seed, or short stapled cotton, which Sir Walter Raleigh found cultivated in Virginia and North Carolina, and which was likewise cultivated in South Carolina and Georgia for many years prior to the revolution of 1776. Nor could the cottons found in these several States have been the product of the "*Arboreum*," since that variety is not indigenous, nor has ever been introduced or cultivated within their limits. The green-seed, or short stapled cotton, then, with the New Orleans and other kindred varieties, is indigenous in the southern States of the American Union. But little known at the early periods to which we have referred, as an article of foreign export, it was nevertheless cultivated for domestic uses; nor was it until towards the close of the eighteenth century that it began to enter largely into the commerce of the world—to be given to foreign countries in exchange for their products, and to lay the foundation of that trade so wonderful in the rapidity of its spread, so pervading in its influences, so beneficial in its results.

There is equally good evidence for believing that another variety of cotton cultivated in the southern States of the Union is of foreign origin. We allude to the sea-island, the fine variety, which has of late years awakened so lively an interest on both sides of the Atlantic. The seed of this plant is said to have been brought from the Bahama Islands to Georgia, between the years 1785 and 1790, under the name of "*Anguilla*," one of the small islands belonging to the group; and it is claimed that the cultivation began in that State one or two years before it was introduced into South Carolina, the State which nevertheless has been and still continues to be the largest producer of that fine variety.

Its botanical name of "*Gossypium Barbadosense*" is significant enough, as marking its origin, or at least its early cultivation in the Island of Barbadoes; but with what propriety naturalists should have applied this same name to the green-seed, or short stapled cotton, differing as it does from the former in its origin as well as in its essential characteristics, is a matter hard to comprehend. They are both annual plants, and here their resemblance ends; for though the sea-

island will degenerate and the green-seed will improve; and if the seeds of the two varieties are sown promiscuously together, they will approximate and lose somewhat of their peculiarities, there is no experiment to show that they actually glide into each other and lose those distinctive qualities that they severally possessed. It is to be hoped, then, that for the sake of precision, naturalists will hereafter distinguish these several varieties by different names.

We have authentic information going to prove that the sea-island cotton, which, in our opinion, should exclusively be known as the *Gossypium Barbadense*, was cultivated in South Carolina as early as the year 1790, and can it be a matter of indifference to you, gentlemen, to know that the field selected for the first experiment in the culture of this fine material in Carolina includes the very spot where Jean Ribault (the pioneer of French discoverers in America) planted his column of stone in 1562, and claimed the territory for the crown of France! How this colony was destroyed under circumstances of great barbarity by the Spaniards under Melendez. How the murder of his countrymen was avenged by the heroic Chevalier Georges; what miseries were endured in subsequent abortive efforts at colonization; and how the country was, 109 years after the visit of Ribault, eventually colonized by the English, are matters scarce within the scope and purpose of this memoir. But it must be of interest to know that (after the struggle in which the then colonies of England, through the timely and generous aid of France, established themselves as independent States) on that very spot on which Ribault planted the standard of France, as marked down on the charts and maps of Laudonniere, now preserved in the imperial library, the cotton seed from Anguilla was first planted, which, improving from year to year under the joint influences of climate and culture, came to supply France with the material for her unrivalled cotton fabrics, and has thus proved the nidus or nursery-bed from which Algeria has drawn the seed from which she has raised those beautiful specimens of sea-island cotton now on exhibition in the *Palais de l'Industrie*, and which rival the finest specimens of Carolina production.

This fine variety, known in France as "*Coton de Soie*," was found to succeed admirably in its new location, superseding the indigo, which, under the stimulus of a bounty granted by the English government to the then colonies, had been a favorite article of culture on the highlands of the sea-board; and as the "*Convolvulus Batata*," a native of the Andes, has been found, when removed from those elevated

plateaux, to improve in the regions to which it has been transplanted, so, likewise, has it fared with this Anguilla cotton, which, removed to the more congenial climate of Carolina, has vastly improved in fineness and in value, yielding a product which for sixty years, at least, has been unequalled in the world.

Now, as the seed from which this fine cotton was originally raised was one, namely, the Anguilla cotton, and as the Anguilla cotton is inferior to the Carolina, it is evident that the change must result from more advantageous location or from improved culture. And originally and primarily must it be ascribed to location; for it was observed that the crops grown on fields of certain locations brought higher prices than the average, the special demand for these being based on the experience of the manufacturers in the fabrication of the finer goods. From causes, therefore, climatic, atmospheric, or dependant on the composition of the soil, it was soon ascertained that cottons in some locations improved in fineness, while in others they had visibly degenerated.

To counteract this tendency to degeneracy on the one hand, and to stimulate and develop the germ of improvement on the other, the planters applied themselves systematically to the selection of seeds, by which means the quality of the product could measurably be ascertained in advance. And in this way has it happened that an article, in its actual fineness formerly unknown to commerce, is produced, as it were, to order, and in sufficiency to meet the demand; and may be made to extend yet further, if encouraged by that demand which must eventually regulate the extent of agriculture as well as of all other production.

Since then, the original fibre has been improved in certain locations; it is evident there are causes at work there to effect that improvement; and since in other locations there is degeneracy, it is evident that adequate causes must likewise exist for that. The enquirer will find those fortunate locations which have shown a constant tendency to improve the staple and produce the finest sea-island cotton, on the Atlantic coast of North America, between the 32d and 33d degree of north latitude, within a few miles of the sea, enjoying a saline atmosphere, and a soil which, though rich, is dry, and in which silex is the predominant ingredient. You may trace out these locations on the map; and the experienced planter may decide, without risk of mistake, and without experiment even, on the positions which are likely to produce the finer qualities of sea-island cotton.

In like manner may it be foretold in what positions the

plant will degenerate, viz., in such as, having the required temperature, are removed from saline atmosphere, are based on stiff clay instead of sand, and are incapable of that perfect drainage which is essential to the full productiveness of the cotton plant. By selection of seed and the application of saline manures, this tendency to degeneracy may for a time be modified; but the tendency is inherent; and the necessity for continually renewing the power of the soil by new applications must sensibly increase the cost of production. In the same way, the lands naturally fitted for the production of the finer cottons will, if cultivated with coarser seed, produce an inferior article; but the tendency to improve remains unaltered, and after a certain time re-asserts its power. Sea-weed, salt marsh, salt mud, compounded with the sweepings of the stables and cattle pens, are successfully used to stimulate the production of sea-island cottons on lands to which they are not naturally adapted; while they likewise serve to restore such as, being naturally fitted for the culture, have had their fertility exhausted by overcropping.

The culture of the sea-island cotton, as conducted in South Carolina, exacts a vast amount of labor and attention. Small beds parallel to each other, and four feet and a half from centre to centre, are thrown up by the plough in February. Under or on these the manures are deposited; and in March and April larger beds are raised on the first, and the seeds deposited. After the plants have appeared above the surface they have to be weeded and thinned, and as many as six ploughings or hoeings are required during the season of culture, which extends from April to August. Then come the gathering, sorting, ginning, cleaning, and packing away in bales. The product varies from 120 to 150 lbs. of cleaned cotton to the acre, (210 English feet square,) and from three to five acres are cultivated to each labourer. Dry seasons suit best with this plant; negligent culture invariably checks its growth and bearing; but the neglect most fatal to a remunerative return is defective drainage. The tendency shown by the *Gossypium Barbadosense* to improve in certain locations combining congenial latitude, atmosphere, soil, and to degenerate in others in which these requisites are wanting, is not an anomaly; it is in the order of nature. It happens with various other plants. You may transplant the cuttings and seedlings from the vineyards of Prince Metternich, and you may make excellent wine from their fruits; but you will strive in vain to reproduce the vintages of Johannesburg on the slopes of the Jura!

I mean not to insinuate that such will be the result of your

attempts to raise fine sea-island cottons in Algeria. I have no authority for such a supposition. On the contrary, the fact is before my eyes, that you can and do produce cottons of exceeding fineness in Algeria from seeds originally procured from us. And when I have presented here for the Exhibition, in my character of commissioner, the sea-island cottons of Seabrook and Mikell, the cultivators of the finest varieties known in South Carolina, I find them placed in juxtaposition with Algerian cottons grown from the very same seed. So, Messieurs, it is with arrows from our own quiver that you meet us in the contest! How the international jury may decide the question of precedence it is not for me to anticipate; but this I will confidently affirm, that the inferior of the two will be superior to anything the world ever possessed before the present period! The only question really at issue in the experiment is that of cost; and that awaits the test of experience. It would be grateful to us, I acknowledge, to continue to provide you with this fine article in quantities to meet your wants, and in exchange for your wines and brandies, your fabrics of cotton and silk—the valued productions of your vineyards and looms. But you will follow out your own interests in this matter, as it is just you should, and we must accommodate ourselves as we best may to the new condition of things that may result. If outflanked on this side, we must necessarily change front, and we shall invite you to extend to us the hand of free and friendly intercourse, in whatever new position it may be our fortune to occupy.

In treating of this fine variety of cotton, it would be an inexcusable omission not to refer to the injury to which it is exposed from the occasional visit of a destructive caterpillar. It feeds upon the leaves and unripe pods, destroying, according to the period of its visit, from one to three fourths of the entire crop. It is called by naturalists "*Noctua Gossypii*," and its ravages in the Bahamas, where there were no frosts to arrest its progress, was doubtless one of the leading causes for the abandonment of the culture of sea-island cotton in that region. In latitude 32° 33' on the Atlantic coasts of America, they are destroyed by the autumnal frosts, or the leaves and young pods on which they subsist are destroyed, which effects the same result. It is said of these destructive insects, that they appear to be born of and for this plant, for when they have devoured the field on which they originated and can reach no other, they perish by starvation rather than touch the abundant green leaves of other plants that surround them. They refuse all other food, and, pressed onward by the instinct of hunger, and governed probably by the sense of

smell, they ford rivers, in the vain attempt to reach the fields on the opposite bank, and are swept away and destroyed by myriads. They are not annual scourges; sometimes in South Carolina and Georgia they disappear for four or five years, they then return to renew their ravages for two or three, when they again disappear, to resume their ravages after the lapse of a few years. Their return is not strictly periodical, as can be predicted of some other larvæ, but is considered as greatly dependant on the seasons; east winds and showery weather being thought to favor their reproduction.

The demand for the sea-island cottons raised in the southern states of America is altogether foreign. Not a pound is manufactured in the country of production; and this must long continue to be the case, because in all this cotton-growing region industry naturally and almost necessarily takes the direction of agriculture. With a sparse population, a climate adapted to the raising of semitropical productions, and with cheap and fertile lands, it would be false economy to apply their labour to the manufacture of the finer fabrics; while this would seem as obviously to be the policy of those nations whose lands are pre-occupied and devoted to the support of a dense population crowded into cities, and whose prosperity must therefore be largely and necessarily dependant on manufacturing industry. It is reasonable, therefore, to infer that America will long find it her policy to produce what it would seem to be equally the policy of older nations to manufacture and consume; and we trust that this fine, silken link of mutual interest, joined to others weightier and mightier, may serve to keep the old and new continents in that state of harmonious intercourse which in America we feel to be ours, and which we firmly believe to be the true interest of each.

Let us trace out this delicate, fine fibre from its very origin to its final disposition, and observe what benefits it has diffused throughout its course. When brought to the domestic market and sold, it pays or should pay rent of land, cost of labour and transportation, and leave a profit to the grower. When sold, it pays a profit to the merchant. In its transfer to a foreign port, it pays the freight to the ship-owner, including wages to the mariner. Arrived at a foreign port, it pay its tribute to the custom-house, then pays for commission and storage and cost of transportation, possibly to Rouen, to Lille, or to Mulhouse, to be transformed into laces and muslins; possibly to Lyons, to be woven in with tissues of silk. Arrived at the manufactory, it pays the carder, spinner, weaver, printer, embroiderer, all engaged in the processes of fabrication; and lastly the manufacturer, who vends at a

profit to the dealer, from whose hands it passes into the consumption of the country ; clothes with rich draperies the gay saloons of fashion ; or, by a happier destiny, encircles with its gossamer folds the rounded forms of female loveliness, embellishing and heightening what in itself is perfect ; as floating clouds, by the happy distribution of their golden tints, may be supposed to have enhanced the splendours even of the terrestrial paradise.

We shall have perceived by this time that this fine article of commerce, which, when first landed in Europe in an unmanufactured state, could be purchased for a few francs the pound, has, at each stage of its progress towards its final and crowning development, employed new workmen, paid new wages, acquired new values, until it has reached an extraordinary price, having little or no proportion to its original cost. But if such be the result when limiting our view to this fine commodity, of which but 40,000 bales are annually produced in the world, and of which but 10,000 bales, at the utmost, are manufactured in France, what must be the economic and commercial benefit arising from the manufacture and after use of 500,000 bales of other cottons, the production of America, which are annually introduced into France for manufacture and consumption ? How many tons of shipping have been employed in the transportation ! How many hundreds of thousands of industrious operatives have subsisted by the manufacture ! How many millions have been made comfortable by the use of the fabrics woven from these tissues. Few more acceptable contributions, it seems to me, can be made from one country to another, few stronger ties of interest can be interposed, few better securities for continued good-will can be devised than those which America offers to Europe in the mutual benefits of the cotton trade. It must ever be influential in preserving that state which, while it can be preserved with honour, it is the true glory and interest of every nation to maintain. For it is just to believe that God has made the earth ample enough for the support of all his intelligent creatures ; that we are under no obligation to destroy each other for self preservation ; and that it is the true mission of man (irrespective of the narrow and often arbitrary divisions of states and nations) to contribute to the happiness of his fellow being, by throwing in his way all the inestimable blessings of civilization.

In this spirit is it, gentlemen, that we congratulate you and the great nation that you represent on the felicitous use you have made of the material which we have furnished you. We observe with no jealousy, but with high gratification

rather, the activity and consequent prosperity it has evolved in several of your departments, and we rejoice to behold the increased value which, by your steady industry and superior ingenuity, you have superadded to the original cost of the material.

You will pardon me for extending these remarks so as to throw light on the progressive production of an article now so important to the interests of both our countries. We have said that for a long period, extending back to a century and a half or perhaps two centuries, a species of cotton, the same doubtless with the green-seed or New Orleans variety, was cultivated in America for domestic uses. But shipments to foreign countries throughout this period were very rare. Seven bales were shipped from Charlestown in 1747; and it appears that when, in 1784, 71 bales were shipped to England from the same port, they were seized on as contraband, on the ground that America could not produce such a quantity! The amount, nevertheless, exported from the United States in 1791, was 189,000 pounds; in 1795, 6,276,000 pounds; in 1800, 17,739,000 pounds; in 1810, 93,206,000 pounds. In 1840, it had swelled to 790,000,000 pounds, and in 1850, to 987,000,000 pounds. The crop for the last year exceeds one billion of pounds.

These astonishing results are from official data, collated and published under the immediate eye of the officials of the United States government, and these government estimates fall far short, it must be observed, of the actual production, because they refer to the exports only, and take no note of the several hundred thousand bales manufactured in the United States, and which therefore do not figure in the official report. We can, with these facts before us, make no estimate of the product and price of the crop of 1855, however moderate, which will not leave us over a hundred million of dollars as the amount generated in the country of production from this single branch of agricultural industry. Now, if we assume that the value of the raw material has been quadrupled by the process of manufacture, then we shall have the enormous amount of four hundred millions of dollars, annually given to the world, and springing out of this single production, an amount of wealth which, it seems to me, would have no existence independent of it, and would perish utterly from the face of the earth if the production from which it springs were non-existent. But in this remark I touch, I am aware, upon a debateable question of political economy, and I do not insist upon it.

Now the manufacturing profits, which we have assumed at

three hundred millions of dollars, accrue to the country of production only to the extent of five or six hundred thousand bales, out of an annual crop of over three millions of bales, or upon something less than one fifth of the entire product. The manufacturers' profit on the remaining four fifths is with Europe! In the first degree, with England, and secondly with France. And if we have not refrained from adverting to the benefits which Europe, in common with ourselves, have derived from this great American staple—to the laborers it has employed—to the women and children it has subsisted (and for whom no lighter or more suitable occupation could be devised)—to the naked whom it has clothed—to the hungry whom it has fed—to the pauperism it has relieved or obviated—and lastly to the enjoyment it has afforded to almost every race and caste of the whole human family, in the use of these fabrics, so various and so suited to all persons, all conditions, and all climes, you will impute it, not to a vain glorious spirit of self applause, but to the pardonable desire to show that the arts, refinements, and high civilization which we derive from our association with Europe, are not altogether without a compensation.

When we come to consider the distribution of this enormous product of American cotton, we shall find that England has received, during the year ending 1st of June 1854, 680,000,000 pounds, valued at 63,938,000 dollars, while France, without estimating what she has received circuitously from England, has had a direct import from America of 141,000,000 pounds, valued at 14,500,000 dollars. The consumption of Spain (by her Mediterranean ports) is but one fifth of that of France, yet exceeds that of any other continental power.

I refrain from entering into any particular inquiry as to the benefits resulting from the manufacture and distribution of the article within the limits of France. Suffice it to say, that of her annual importations from America, one half, or nearly 15,000,000 dollars, is in raw cotton; and of her exports to America nearly one half is of this same material, under various forms of manufacture.

Having now traced the cotton culture from its unpromising beginning to its present palmy condition, and followed the prepared article of commerce, when packed away in bales, in its voyage across the Atlantic, until it is landed on your own shores, at this stage, gentlemen, I respectfully take leave of the subject. The documents henceforth are with you! The statistics illustrating your progress and the eminence

to which you have attained are lodged in your own bureaus, and you can follow out, if you so desire it, this problem of the cotton trade in all its relations—social, political, economical, and monetary!

Governor Seabrook, in his *Memoir on the Cotton Plant*, read before the State Agricultural Society of South Carolina, 6th December, 1843, thus speaks of the *Sea-Island Cotton* :

"The first successful crop appears to have been grown by William Elliott, deceased, on Hilton Head, near Beaufort, in 1790."

The plantation of the Hon. W. Elliott, deceased, to whom Mr. Seabrook refers in the above extract, occupied the north-western extremity of Hilton Head Island, and included the smaller island on which, as shown by *Laudonniere's* map and description, the column of stone was placed.

SLAVERY :

ITS CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS, AND ITS INFLUENCE ON SOCIETY AND THE COLORED RACE.

1. The constitutional powers and duties of the federal government in relation to domestic slavery.

2. The influence of slavery, as it exists in the United States, upon the slave and society.

Under the first head I shall endeavor to show that Congress has no power to limit, restrain, or in any manner to impair slavery, but on the contrary, it is bound to protect and maintain it in the States where it exists, and wherever else the flag floats and its jurisdiction is paramount.

On the second point, I maintain that so long as the African and Caucasian races exist in the same society, the subordination of the African is the normal, necessary, and proper condition, and that such subordination is the condition best calculated to promote the highest interests and the greatest happiness of both races, and consequently of the whole of society, and that the abolition of slavery under these conditions is not a remedy of any of the evils of the system. I admit the truth of these propositions stated under the second point to be essentially necessary to the existence and permanence of the system. They rest on the truth that the white is the superior race, and the black the inferior, and that subordination, with or without law, will be the status of the African in this mixed society, and therefore it is the interest of both, and especially of the black race and of the whole of society, that this status should be fixed, controlled, and protected by law. The perfect equality of the superior race, and legal subordination of the inferior, are the foundations on which we have erected our republican system. Its soundness must be tested by its conformity to the sovereignty of right, the law which ought to govern all people in all coun-

tries. This sovereignty of right is justice, commonly called national justice, not the vague, uncertain imaginings of men, but natural justice, as interpreted by the written oracles, and read by the light of the revelations of nature's God.

In this sense I recognize a "higher law," and the duty of all men, by legal and proper means, to bring every society in conformity with it. I proceed to the consideration of the first point. The old thirteen States before the revolution were dependent colonies of Great Britain. Each was a separate and distinct political community, with different laws, and each became an independent and sovereign State by the Declaration of Independence. At the time of the declaration slavery was a fact, and a fact recognized by law in each of them, and the slave trade was lawful commerce by the laws of nations and the practice of mankind. This declaration was drafted by a slaveholder, adopted by the representatives of slaveholders, and did not emancipate a single African slave; but on the contrary, one of the charges which it submitted to the civilized world against King George was, that he had attempted to excite domestic insurrection among us. At the time of this declaration we had no common government. The articles of confederation were submitted to the representatives of the States eight days afterwards, and were not adopted by all the States until 1781. These crude and imperfect articles of union sufficed to bring us successfully through the revolution. Common danger was a stronger bond of union than these articles of confederation. After that ceased they were inadequate to the purposes of peace. They did not emancipate a single slave.

The Constitution was framed by delegates elected by the State legislatures. It was an emanation from the sovereign States as independent separate communities. It was ratified by conventions of these separate States, each acting for itself. The members of these conventions represented the sovereignty of each State, but they were not elected by the whole people of either of the States. Minors, women, slaves, Indians, Africans, bond and free, were excluded from participating in this act of sovereignty; neither were all the white male inhabitants over twenty-one years allowed to participate in it. Some of them were excluded because they had forfeited the right; others because they had not the requisite qualifications; others, again, for still more objectionable reasons. None exercised this high privilege except those upon whom each State, for itself, had adjudged it wise, safe, and prudent to confer it. By this Constitution these States granted to the federal government certain well defined and clearly specified

powers, in order to "make a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence and general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to (themselves and their) posterity." And with great wisdom and forethought it lays down a plain, certain and sufficient rule for its own interpretation, by declaring that "the powers herein delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

It is therefore a limited government. It is limited expressly to the enumerated powers and such others only, "which shall be necessary and proper to carry into execution" the enumerated powers. The purposes for which these powers were granted can neither increase or diminish them. If any one or all these powers were to fail by reason of the inefficiency of the granted powers to secure them, that would be a good reason for a new grant, but could never enlarge the granted powers. That declaration was itself a limitation, instead of an enlargement of these powers. If a power expressly granted is used for any other purpose than those declared, such use would be a violation of the grant and a fraud on the Constitution. There is nothing within the scope of the powers or purposes of the Constitution which gives the slightest sanction to any anti-slavery action of Congress. The history of the times, and the debates in the convention which framed the Constitution, show that the whole subject was much considered by them, and "perplexed them in the extreme," and that those provisions of the Constitution which related to it were earnestly considered by the State conventions which adopted it. Incipient legislation providing for emancipation had already been adopted by some of the States; Massachusetts had declared that slavery was extinguished by her bill of rights. The African slave trade had already been legislated against in many of the States, including Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, the largest slaveholding States. The public mind was unquestionably tending towards emancipation. This feeling displayed itself in the south as well as the north. Some of the delegates from the present slaveholding States thought that the power to abolish, not only the African slave trade but slavery in the States, ought to be given to the federal government; and that the Constitution did not take this shape was made one of the most prominent objections to it by Luther Martin, a distinguished member of the convention from Maryland, and Mr. Mason, of Virginia, was not far behind him in his emancipation principles. Mr. Madison sympathized to a great extent, to a much greater

extent, than some of the representatives of Massachusetts in this anti-slavery feeling. Hence we find that anti-slavery feelings were extensively indulged by many members of the convention, both from the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States.

But it rather concerns us to know what was the collective will of the whole as affirmed by the sovereign States, not what were the opinions of individual men in the convention. We wish to know what was done by the whole, not what some of the members thought was best to be done. The result of the struggle was, that not a single clause was inserted in the Constitution giving power to the federal government anywhere, either to abolish, limit, restrain, or in any other manner to impair the system of slavery in the United States; but on the contrary, every clause which was inserted in the Constitution on the subject does, in fact, and was so intended, either to increase it, to strengthen it, or to protect it. To support these positions I appeal to the Constitution itself, to the cotemporaneous and all subsequent interpretations of it. The Constitution provides for the increase of slavery by prohibiting the suspension of the slave trade for twenty years after its adoption. It says in the first clause of the ninth section of the first article, "that the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person." After that time it was left at the discretion of Congress to prohibit or not to prohibit the African slave trade. The extension of this traffic in Africans from 1800 to 1808 was voted for by the whole of the New England States, including Massachusetts, and opposed by Virginia and Delaware, and the clause was inserted by the votes of the New England States. It fostered an active and profitable trade for New England capital and enterprise for twenty years, by which a large addition was made to the numbers of the original stock of Africans in the States—thereby it increased slavery in the United States. This clause of the Constitution, which specially favored it, was one of those clauses which was protected against amendment by article 5th.

Slavery is strengthened by the 3d clause 2d section of 1st article, which fixes the basis of representation according to numbers, providing that the members "shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons." This

provision strengthens slavery by giving the existing slaveholding states many more representatives in Congress than they would have if slaves were counted only as property. This provision was much debated but finally adopted, with the full understanding of its import, by a great majority. The Constitution protects it impliedly by withholding all power to injure it or limit its duration; but it protects it expressly by the 3d clause of the 2d section of the 4th article, by the 4th section of the 4th article, and by the 15th clause of the 8th section of the 1st article. The 3d section provides that "no person held to service or labor in one State, by the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." The 4th section of the 4th article provides that Congress shall protect each State "on application of the legislature, or of the executive, when the legislature is not convened, against domestic violence." The 15th clause of the 8th section of the 1st article makes it the duty of Congress to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrections and to repel invasions. The first of these three clauses last referred to protects slavery by following the escaping slave into non-slaveholding States and returning him to bondage; the other clauses place the whole military power of the republic in the hands of the federal government to repress "domestic violence" and "insurrection."

Under this Constitution, if he flies to other lands the supreme law follows, captures, and returns him. If he resists the law by which he is held in bondage, the same Constitution brings its military power to his subjugation. There is no limit to this protection; it must be protected as long as any of the States tolerate domestic slavery, and the Constitution unaltered endures. None of these clauses admit of misconception or doubtful construction. They were not incorporated into the charter of our liberties by surprise or inattention—they were each and all of them introduced into that body, debated, referred to the committees, reported upon, and adopted. Our construction of them is supported by one unbroken and harmonious current of decisions and adjudications by the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of the governments, State and federal, from President Washington to President Pierce. Twenty representatives in the Congress of the United States hold their seats to-day by virtue of one of these clauses. The African slave trade was carried on the whole appointed period under another. Thousands of slaves

have been delivered up under another, and it is a just cause of congratulation to the whole country that no occasion has occurred to call into action the remaining clauses which have been quoted.

These constitutional provisions were generally acquiesced in, even by those who did not approve them, until a new and less obvious question sprung out of the acquisition of territory. When the Constitution was adopted the question had been settled in the northwest territory by the articles of cession of that territory by the State of Virginia; and at that time the United States had not an acre of land for which to legislate except a disputed claim over the southwestern boundary, which will hereafter be considered in its appropriate connexion. The acquisition of Louisiana devolved upon Congress the necessity of its government. This duty was assumed and performed for the general benefit of the whole country, without challenge or question, for nearly seventeen years. Equity and good faith shielded it. But in 1819—thirty years after the adoption of the Constitution—upon the application of Missouri for admission into the Union, the extraordinary pretension was for the first time asserted by a majority of the non-slaveholding States that Congress had not only the power to prohibit the extension of slavery into the new Territories of the republic, but that it had the power to compel new States seeking admission into the Union to prohibit it in their constitutions, and mould their domestic policy in all respects to suit the opinions, whims, or caprices of the federal government. This novel and extraordinary pretension subjected the whole powers of Congress over the Territories to the severest criticism. Abundant authority was found in the Constitution to manage this common domain merely as property.

The 2d clause, 3d section of the 4th article, declares "that Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State;" but this clause restricted by its terms the action of Congress over it. It is here considered only as property, and gave Congress no political power to govern it. This construction has the sanction of the highest judicial authority of the land. Congress was then driven to look for power to govern it in the necessity and propriety of it as a mode of executing the express power to make treaties. The right to acquire territory under the treaty making power was itself an implication, and an

implication whose rightfulness was denied by Mr. Jefferson, who exercised it. The right to govern being claimed as an incident of the right to acquire, was then but an implication; and then the power to exclude slavery therefrom was still another implication from the fountain of all power (express grant.) But whether the power to prohibit slavery in the common Territories be claimed from one source or the other, it cannot be sustained upon any sound rule of constitutional construction. The power is not expressly granted. Then, unless it can be shown to be both "necessary and proper" in order to the just execution of a granted power, the constitutional argument against it is complete. This remains to be shown by the advocates of this power. Admit the power in Congress to govern the Territories until they shall be admitted as States into the Union—derive it either from the clause of the Constitution last referred to, or from the treaty making power—still this power to prohibit slavery is not incident to it in either case, because it is neither necessary nor proper to its execution.

That it is not necessary to execute the treaty making power is shown from the fact that that power not only was never used for this purpose, but can be wisely and well executed without it, and has been repeatedly used to increase and protect slavery. The acquisition of Louisiana and Florida are examples of its use without the exercise of this pretended necessary and proper incident. Numerous treaties and conventions with both savage and civilized nations, from the foundation of the government, demanding and receiving indemnities for injuries to this species of property, is conclusive against this novel pretension. That it is not necessary to the execution of the power to make "needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property of the United States," is proven from the fact that seven Territories have been governed by Congress and trained into sovereign States without its exercise. It is not proper, because it seeks to use an implied power for other and different purposes from any specified, expressed, or intended by the grantors. The purpose is avowed to be to limit, restrain, weaken, and finally to crush out slavery; whereas the grant expressly provides for strengthening and protecting it. It is not proper, because it violates the fundamental conditions of the Union—the equality of the States. The States of the Union are all political equals—each State has the same right as every other State—no more, no less. The exercise of this prohibition violates this equality and violates justice. By the laws of nations acquisitions, either by purchase or conquest, even in despotic

governments, enure to the benefit of all the subjects of the States. The reason for this, given by the most approved publicists, is that they are the fruits of the common blood and treasure.

This prohibition destroys this equality, excludes a part of the joint owners from an equal participation and enjoyment of the common domain, and against right and justice appropriates it to the greater number. Therefore, so far from being a necessary and proper means of executing granted powers, it is an arbitrary and despotic usurpation against the letter, the spirit, and declared purposes of the Constitution. The exercise neither "promotes a more perfect union, nor establishes justice, nor insures domestic tranquillity, nor provides for the common defence, nor promotes the general welfare, nor secures the blessings of liberty to ourselves or our posterity;" but, on the contrary, it puts in jeopardy all these inestimable blessings, and does not even emancipate a single African slave. Penning them up and stowing them in the old States may make them more wretched and miserable, but it does not strike a chain from the limbs of one of them. It is not only a great wrong to the white race, but the refinement of cruelty to the black. Expansion is as necessary to the increased comfort of the slave as to the prosperity of the master. The constitutional construction of the South does no wrong to any portion of the republic, to no sound rules of construction, and promotes all the declared purposes of the Constitution. We simply propose that the common territories be left open to the common enjoyment of all the people of the United States—that they shall be protected in their persons and property by the federal until its authority is superseded by a State constitution, and then we propose that the character of the domestic institutions of the new State be determined by the freemen thereof. This is justice—this is constitutional equality.

But those who claim the power in Congress to exclude slavery from the territories rely rather on authority than principle to support it. They affirm, with singular ignorance of or want of fidelity to the facts, that Congress has, from the beginning of the government, uniformly claimed, and repeatedly exercised, the power to discourage slavery, and to exclude it from the territories. My investigation of the subject has satisfied my own mind that neither position is sustained by a single precedent. I exclude, of course, legislation prohibiting the African slave trade, and I hold the ordinance of 1787 not to be within the principle asserted. For the first thirty years of our history, this general duty to protect this

great interest equally with every other was universally admitted and fairly performed by every department of the government. The act of 1793 was passed to secure the delivery up of fugitives from labor escaping to the non-slaveholding States; your navigation laws authorized their transportation on the high seas. The government demanded and repeatedly received compensation for the owners of slaves, for injuries sustained in these lawful voyages by the interference of foreign governments. It not only protected us upon the high seas, but followed us to foreign lands, where we had been driven by the dangers of the sea, and protected slave property when thus cast even within the jurisdiction of hostile municipal laws. The slave property of our people was protected against the incursions of Indians by our military power and public treaties. That clause of the treaty of Ghent which provided compensation for property destroyed or taken by the British government placed slavery precisely upon the same ground with other property; and a New England man (Mr. Adams) ably and faithfully maintained the rights of the slaveholder under it at the court of St. James. The government was administered according to the Constitution, and not according to what is now called "the spirit of the age." Those legislators looked for political powers and public duties in the organic law which political communities had laid down for their guidance and government. Humanity mongers, atheistical socialists, who would upturn the moral, social, and political foundations of society, who would substitute the folly of men for the wisdom of God, were then justly considered as the enemies of the human race, and as deserving the contempt, if not the execration, of all mankind.

Until the year 1820, our territorial legislation was marked by the same general spirit of fairness and justice. Notwithstanding the constant assertions to the contrary by gentlemen from the north, up to that period no act was ever passed by constitutional power to prevent any citizen of the United States owning slaves from removing with them to our Territories, and there receiving legal protection for this property. Until that time such persons did so remove into all the Territories owned or acquired by the United States, except the Northwest Territory, and were there adequately protected. The action of Congress in reference to the ordinance of 1787 does not contravene this principle. That ordinance was passed on the 13th day of July, 1787, before the adoption of our present Constitution. It purported on its face to be a perpetual compact between the State of Virginia, the people of the Territory, and the then government of the United

States, and unalterable except by the consent of all the parties. When Congress met for the first time, under the new government, on the 4th of March, 1789, it found the government thus established by virtue of this ordinance in actual operation; and, on the 7th of August, 1789, it passed a law making the offices of governor and secretary of the Territory conform to the Constitution of the new government. It did nothing more. It made no reference to the sixth and last section of the ordinance which inhibited slavery. The division of that Territory was provided for in the ordinance; at each division, the whole of the ordinance was assigned by Congress to each of its parts. This is the whole sum and substance of the free soil claim to legislative precedents. Congress did not assert the right to alter a solemn compact entered into with the former government, but gave its consent, by its legislation, to the governments established and provided for in the compact. If the original compact was void for want of power in the old government to make it, as Mr. Madison supposed, Congress may not have been bound to accept it—it certainly had no power to alter it.

From these facts and principles it is clear that the legislation for the Northwest Territory does not conflict with the principles which I assert, and does not afford precedents for hostile legislation of Congress against slavery in the Territories. That such was neither the principle nor the policy upon which the act of the 7th of August, 1789, was based, is further shown by the subsequent action of the same Congress. On the 2d of April, 1790, Congress, by a formal act, accepted the cession made by North Carolina of her western lands, (now the State of Tennessee,) with this clause in the deed of cession: "That no regulation made, or to be made, by Congress, shall tend to emancipate slaves" in the ceded Territory; and on the 26th of May, 1790, passed a territorial bill for the government of all the territory claimed by the United States south of the Ohio river. The description of this territory included all the lands ceded by North Carolina, but it embraced a great deal more. Its boundaries were left indefinite, because there were conflicting claims to all the rest of the territory. But this act put the whole country claimed by the United States south of the Ohio under the pro-slavery clause of the North Carolina deed. The whole action of the first Congress in relation to slavery in the Territories of the United States seems to have been this: it acquiesced in a government for the Northwest Territory based upon a pre-existing anti-slavery ordinance, created a government for the country ceded by North Carolina in conformity

with the pro-slavery clause to all the rest of the territory claimed by the United States south of the Ohio river. This legislation vindicates the first Congress from all imputation of having established the precedent claimed by the friends of legislative exclusion.

The next territorial act which was passed was that of the 7th of April, 1798. It was the first act of territorial legislation which had to rest solely upon original primary constitutional power over the subject. It established a government over the Territories included within the boundaries of a line drawn due east from the mouth of the Yazoo river to the Chattahoochie river, then down that river to the thirty-first degree of north latitude, then west on that line to the Mississippi river, then up the Mississippi to the beginning. This Territory was within the boundary of the United States as defined by the treaty of Paris, and was not within the boundary of any of the States. The charter granted to Georgia limited her boundary on the south to the Altamaha river. In 1763, after the surrender of her charter, her limits were extended by the crown to the St. Mary's river, and west on the thirty-first degree of north latitude to the Mississippi. In 1764, on the recommendation of the board of trade, her boundary was again altered, and that portion of territory within the boundaries which I have described was annexed to West Florida, and thus it stood at the revolution and the treaty of peace. Therefore the United States claimed it as common property, and in 1798 passed the act now under review for its government. In that act she neither claimed nor exerted any power to prohibit slavery in it. And the question came directly before Congress; the ordinance of 1798 in terms was applied to this Territory, expressly "excepting and excluding the last article of the ordinance," which is the article excluding slavery from the Northwest Territory. This is a precedent directly in point, and is against the exercise of the power now claimed. In 1802 Georgia ceded her western lands. She protected slavery in her grant, and the government complied with her stipulations.

In 1803 the United States acquired Louisiana from France by purchase. There is no special reference to slavery in the treaty; it was protected under the general term of property. This acquisition was, soon after the treaty, divided into two Territories—the Orleans and Louisiana Territories—over both of which governments were established. The law of slavery obtained in the whole country at the time we acquired it. Congress prohibited the foreign and domestic slave trade in

these Territories, but gave the protection of its laws to slave owners emigrating thither with their slaves. Upon the admission of Louisiana into the Union, a new government was established by Congress over the rest of the country, under the name of the Missouri Territory. This act also attempted no exclusion. Slaveholders emigrated to the country with their slaves and were protected by their government. In 1819 Florida was acquired by purchase; its laws recognized and protected slavery at the time of its acquisition. The United States extended the same recognition and protection.

Such was the history of territorial legislation until the year 1820. Missouri had applied for admission into the Union. An attempt was then made, for the first time, to impose restrictions upon a sovereign State, and admit it into the Union upon an unequal footing with her sister States, and to compel her to mould her institutions, not according to the will of her own people, but according to the fancy of a majority in Congress. The attempt was strongly resisted, and resulted in an act providing for her admission, but containing a clause prohibiting slavery forever in all the territory acquired from France outside of Missouri, and north of 36° 30' north latitude. The principle of this law was a division of the common territory. The authority to prohibit, even to this extent, was denied Mr. Madison, Mr. Jefferson, and other leading and distinguished men of the day. It was carried by most of the southern representatives, combined with a small number of northern votes. It was a departure from principle, but it savored of justice. Subsequently, upon the settlement of our claim to Oregon, it lying north of that line, the prohibition was applied. Upon the acquisition of Texas, the same line of division was adopted. But when we acquired California and New Mexico, the south, still willing to abide by the principle of division, again attempted to divide by the same line. It was almost unanimously resisted by the northern States; their representatives, by a large majority, insisted upon absolute prohibition and the total exclusion of the people of the southern States from the whole of the common territories, unless they divested themselves of their slave property. The result of a long and unhappy conflict was the legislation of 1850. By it a large body of the representatives of the non-slaveholding States, sustained by the approbation of their constituents, acting upon sound principles of constitutional construction, duty and patriotism, aided in voting down this new and dangerous usurpation—declared for the equality of the States, and protected the people of the territories from this unwarrantable interference

with their rights. Here we wisely abandoned "the shifting sands of compromise," and put the rights of the people again upon "the rock of the Constitution."

The law of 1854 (commonly known as the Kansas-Nebraska act) was made to conform to this policy, and but carried out the principles established in 1850. It righted an ancient wrong, and will restore harmony, because it restores justice, to the country. This legislation, I have endeavored to show, is just, fair and equal; that it is sustained by principle, by authority, and by the practice of our fathers. I trust, I believe, that when the transient passions of the day shall have subsided and reason shall have resumed her dominion, it will be approved, even applauded, by the collective body of the people in every portion of our widely extended republic.

In inviting your calm consideration of the second point in my lecture, I am fully persuaded that even if I should succeed in convincing your reason and judgment of its truth, I shall have no aid from your sympathies in this work; yet, if the principles on which our social system is founded are sound, the system itself is humane and just, as well as necessary. Its permanence is based upon the idea of the superiority by nature of the white race over the African; that this superiority is not transient and artificial, but permanent and natural; that the same power which made his skin unchangeably black, made him inferior, intellectually, to the white race, and incapable of an equal struggle with him in the career of progress and civilization; that it is necessary for his preservation in this struggle, and for his own interest, as well as that of the society of which he is a member, that he should be a servant, and not a freeman, in the commonwealth. I have already stated that African slavery existed in the colonies at the commencement of the American revolution. The paramount authority of the crown, with or without the consent of the colonies, had introduced it, and it was inextricably interwoven with her framework of society, especially in the southern States. The question was not presented for our decision whether it was just or beneficial to the African, or advantageous to us, to tear him away by force or fraud from bondage in his own country and place him in a like condition in ours. England and the Christian world had long before settled that question for us.

At the final overthrow of British authority in these States, our ancestors found seven hundred thousand Africans among them already in bondage, and concentrated, from our climate and productions, chiefly in the present slaveholding States. It became their duty to establish governments for themselves.

They brought wisdom, experience, learning and patriotism to the great work. What they sought was that system of government which would secure the greatest and most enduring happiness to the whole society. They incorporated no utopian theories in their system. They did not so much concern themselves about what man might possibly have in a state of nature, as what rights he ought to have in a state of society. They dealt with political rights as things of compact, not of birthright; in the concrete, and not in the abstract. They held, maintained and incorporated into their systems, as fundamental truths, that it was the right and duty of the State to define and fix, as well as to protect and defend, the individual rights of such members of the social compact, and to treat all individual rights as subordinate to the great interests of the whole society. Therefore they denied "natural equality," condemned mere governments of men necessarily resulting therefrom, and established governments of laws—therefore free, sovereign and independent republics. A very slight examination of our State constitutions will show how little they regarded vague notions of abstract liberty or natural equality in fixing the rights of the white race as well as of the black. The elective franchise, the cardinal feature of our system, I have already shown was granted, withheld or limited according to their ideas of public policy and the interests of the State. Numerous restraints upon the supposed abstract rights of a mere numerical majority to govern society in all cases are to be found planted in all of our constitutions, State and federal; thus affirming this subordination of individual rights to the interests and safety of the State.

The slaveholding States, acting upon these principles, finding the African race among them in slavery, unfit to be trusted with political power, incapable as freemen of securing their own happiness, or promoting the public prosperity, recognized their condition as slaves and subjected it to legal control. There are abundant means of ascertaining the effects of this policy on the slave and on society accessible to all who seek the truth. We say its wisdom is vindicated by its results, and that under it the African in the slaveholding States is found in a better position than he has ever attained in any other age or country, either in bondage or freedom. In support of this point, I propose to trace him rapidly from his earliest history to the present time. The monuments of the ancient Egyptians carry him back to the morning of time. Older than the pyramids they furnish the evidence, both of his national identity and his social degradation before

history began. We first behold him a slave in foreign lands. We then find the great body of his race slaves in their own native land, and after thirty centuries, illuminated by both ancient and modern civilization, have passed over him, we still find him a slave of savage masters, as incapable as himself of even attempting a single step in civilization; we find him there still, without government or laws or protection, without letters or arts or industry, without religion, or even the aspirations which would raise him to the rank of an idolator; and, in his lowest type, his almost only mark of humanity is that he walks erect in the image of the Creator. Annihilate his race to day, and you will find no trace of his existence written half a score of years—he would not leave behind him a single monument, invention or thought, worthy of remembrance by the human family.

In the eastern hemisphere he has been found in all ages, scattered among the nations of every degree of civilization, yet inferior to them all—always in a servile condition. Very soon after the discovery and settlement of America, the policy of the Christian world bought large numbers of these people of their savage masters and countrymen, and imported them into the western world. Here we are enabled to view them under a different and far more favorable condition. In Hayti, by the encouragement of the French government, after a long probation of slavery, they became free; and led on by the conduct and valor of the mixed races, aided by overpowering numbers, they massacred the small number of whites who inhabited the island, and succeeded to the undisputed sway of the fairest and best of the West India islands, under the highest state of cultivation. Their condition in Hayti left nothing to be desired for the most favorable experiment of the free, for self government and civilization. This experiment has now been tested for sixty years, and its results are before the world. Fanaticism palliates, but cannot conceal the utter prostration of the race. A war of races began on the very moment the fear of foreign subjugation ceased, and resulted in the extermination of the greater number of the mulattoes who had rescued them from the dominion of the white race. Revolutions, tumults and disorder, have been the ordinary pursuits of the emancipated blacks. Industry has almost ceased, and their stock of civilization has been already exhausted; and they are now scarcely distinguishable from the tribes from which they were torn in their native land.

More recently the same experiment has been tried in Jamaica, under the auspices of England. This was one of the

most beautiful, productive, and prosperous of the British colonial possessions. In 1838 England, following the false theories of her own abolitionists, proclaimed the total emancipation of the black race in Jamaica. Her arms and her power have watched over and protected them; not only the interests but the absolute necessities of the white proprietors of the land compelled them to offer every inducement and stimulant to industry; yet the experiment stands before the world a confessed failure. Ruin has overwhelmed the proprietors, and the negro, true to the instincts of his nature, buries himself in filth, and sloth, and crime. Here we can compare the African with himself in both conditions, in freedom and in bondage, and we can compare him with his race in the same climate and following the same pursuits; compare him with himself under the two different conditions in Hayti and Jamaica, and with his race in bondage in Cuba, and every comparison demonstrates the folly of emancipation.

In the United States, too, we have peculiar opportunities of studying the African race under different conditions. Here we find him in slavery, here we find him also a freeman in both the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States. The best specimen of the free black is to be found in the southern States in the closest contact with slavery, and subject to many of its restraints. Upon the theory of the anti-slavery men, the most favorable condition in which you can view the African is in the non-slaveholding States of this Union. There we ought to expect to find him displaying all the capacities of his race for improvement and progress. With a temperate climate, with the road of progress open before him—among an active, industrious, ingenious, and educated people—surrounded by sympathizing friends, and mild, just, and equal institutions. If he fails here, surely it can be chargeable to nothing but himself. He has had seventy years in which to cleanse himself and his race from the leprosy of slavery. Yet what is his condition here to-day? He is free, he is lord of himself, but he finds it truly a "heritage of woe." After this seventy years of education and probation among themselves, his inferiority stands as fully a confessed fact in the non-slaveholding as in the slaveholding States. By them he is adjudged unfit to employ the rights and perform the duties of citizenship. Denied social equality by an irreversable law of nature, and political rights by municipal law, incapable of maintaining the unequal struggle with the superior race, the melancholy history of his career of freedom is here most usually found in the records of criminal courts, jails, poor-houses, and penitentiaries.

These facts have had themselves recognized in the most conclusive manner throughout the northern States. No town, or city, or State encourages their emigration, many of them discourage it by legislation. Some of the non-slaveholding States have prohibited their entry into their borders under any circumstances whatever. Thus it seems that this great fact of inferiority of the race is equally admitted everywhere in our country. But we treat it differently. The northern States admit it, and to rid themselves of the burden inflict the most cruel injuries upon an unhappy race; they expel them from their borders, and drive them out of their boundaries or into their poorhouses, as wanderers and outcasts. The result of this policy is everywhere apparent; the statistics of population supply the evidence of their condition. In the non-slaveholding States their actual increase during the ten years preceding the last census was but a little over one per cent. per annum, even with the addition of emancipated slaves and fugitives from labor from the south, clearly proving that in this, their most favored condition, when left to themselves they are scarcely capable of maintaining their existence, and, with the prospect of a denser population and a greater competition for employment consequent thereon, they are in danger of extinction.

The Southern States, acting upon the same admitted facts, treat them differently. They keep them in the subordinate condition in which they found them, protect them against themselves, and compel them to contribute to their own and the public interests and welfare; and under our system we appeal to facts open to all men to prove that the African race has attained a higher degree of comfort and happiness than his race has ever before attained in any other age or country. Our political system gives the slave great and valuable rights. His life is equally protected with that of his master—his person is secure from assault against all others, except his master; and his power in this respect is placed under salutary legal restraint. He is entitled by law to a home, to ample food and clothing, and exempted from "excessive" labor; and when no longer capable of labor in old age or disease, is a legal charge upon his master. His family, old and young, whether capable of labor or not, from the cradle to the grave, have the same legal rights. And in these legal provisions they enjoy as large a proportion of the products of their labor as any hired labor in the world. We know that their rights are in the main faithfully secured to them; but I rely not on our knowledge, but submit our institutions to the same tests by which we try those of all other countries. These are sup-

plied by our public statistics. They show that our slaves are larger consumers of animal food than any population in Europe, and larger than any other laboring population in the United States; and that their natural increase is equal to that of any other people. These are true and indisputable tests that their physical comforts are amply secure. In 1790, there were less than seven hundred thousand slaves in the United States; in 1850, the number exceeded three and a quarter millions. The same authority shows that their increase for the ten years preceding the last census was above twenty-eight per cent., or nearly three per cent. per annum—an increase equal, allowing for the element of foreign emigration, to the white race, and nearly three times the blacks of the north.

But these legal rights of the slave embrace but a small portion of the privileges actually enjoyed by him. He has, by universal custom, the control of much of his own time, which is applied at his own choice and convenience to the mechanic arts, to agriculture, or to some other profitable pursuit, which not only gives him the power of purchase over many of the additional necessities of life, but over many of its luxuries; and in numerous cases enables him to purchase his freedom when he desires it. Besides, the nature of the relation of master and slave begets kindness, imposes duties and secures their performance, which exist in no other relation of capital and labor. Interest and humanity co-operate in harmony for the well-being of slave labor. Thus the monster objection to our institution of slavery—that it deprives labor of its wages—cannot stand the test of a truthful investigation. A slight examination of the true theory of wages will further expose its fallacy. Under a system of free labor wages are usually paid in money, the representative of products—under ours in products themselves. One of your own most distinguished statesmen and patriots—President John Adams—said that the difference to the slave was “imaginary.” “What matters it (said he) whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm gives them annually as much money as will buy them the necessities of life, or gives them those necessities at shorthand?” All experience has shown that, if that be the measure of labor, it is safer for the laborer to take his wages in products than in their supposed pecuniary value. Therefore, if we pay in the necessities and benefits of life more than any given amount of pecuniary wages will buy, then our laborer is paid higher than the laborer who receives that amount of wages.

The most authentic agricultural statistics of England, show

that the wages of agriculture and unskilled labor in that kingdom not only fails to furnish the laborer with the comforts of our slave, but even with the necessities of life; and no slaveholder could escape a conviction for cruelty to his slaves, who gave them no more of the necessities of life for their labor than the wages paid to their agricultural laborers by the noblemen and gentlemen of England would buy. Under their system, man has become less valuable and less cared for than domestic animals; and noble dukes will depopulate whole districts of men to supply their places with sheep, and then, with intrepid audacity, lecture and denounce American slaveholders. The great conflict between labor and capital, under free competition, has ever been how the earnings of labor and capital shall be divided between them. In new and sparsely settled countries, where land is cheap and food is easily produced, and education and intelligence approximate equality, labor can struggle in this warfare with capital. But this is an exceptional and temporary condition of society. In the Old World, this state of things has long since passed away, and the conflict with the lower grades of labor has long since ceased. There the compensation of unskilled labor, which first succumbs to capital, is reduced to a point scarcely adequate to a continuance of the race. The rate of increase is scarcely one per cent. per annum; and even at that rate, population, until recently, was considered a curse. In short, capital has become the master of labor, with all the benefits, without the natural burdens of the relation.

In this division of the earnings of labor between it and capital, the southern slave has a marked advantage over the English laborer, and often equal to the free laborer of the north. Here, again, we are furnished with authentic data from which to reason. The census of 1850 shows that on cotton estates of the south, which is the chief branch of our agricultural industry, one-half of the arable lands are annually got under food crop. This half is usually wholly consumed on the farm by the laborers and necessary animals. Out of the other half must be paid all the necessary expenses of production, often including additional supplies of food beyond the produce of the land, which usually equals one-third of the residue, leaving but one-third for net rent. The average rent of land in the older non-slaveholding States is equal to one-third of the gross product, and it not unfrequently amounts to one-half of it, (in England it is sometimes even greater,) the tenant from his portion paying all expenses of production, and the expenses of himself and family. Then it is apparent that the laborer of the south

receives always as much, and frequently a greater portion of the produce of the land than the laborer in New or Old England. Besides, here the portion due the slave is a charge upon the whole product of capital, and upon the capital itself. It is neither dependent upon seasons nor subject to accidents, and survives his own capacity for labor, and even the ruin of his master.

But it is objected that religious instruction is denied the slave. While it is true that religious instruction and privileges are not enjoined by law in all of the States, the number of slaves who are in connexion with the different churches abundantly prove the universality of the enjoyment of these privileges; and a much larger number of the race in slavery enjoys the consolations of religion than the efforts of the combined Christian world have ever been able to convert to Christianity out of all the millions of their countrymen who remain in their native land. Yet the slave, and of those connected with slavery, are constant themes of abolition denunciation. They are lamentably great; but it remains to be shown that they are greater than with the laboring poor of England or any other country. And it is shown that our slaves are without the additional stimulant of want to drive them to crime; we have at least removed from them the temptation and excuse of hunger. Poor human nature is here at least spared the wretched fate of the utter prostration of its moral nature at the first of its physical wants. Lord Ashley's report to the British Parliament shows that in the capital of that empire—perhaps within hailing of Stafford House and Exeter Hall—hunger alone daily engulphs its thousands of men and women in the abyss of crime.

It is also objected that our slaves are debarred the benefits of any education. This objection is well taken, and is not without force; and for this evil the slaves are greatly indebted to the abolitionists. Formerly, in some of the slaveholding States, it was not forbidden to teach slaves to read and write; but the character of the literature sought to be furnished by the abolitionists caused these States to take counsel rather of their passions than their reason, and to lay the axe at the root of the evil. Better counsels will in time prevail, and this will be remedied. It is true that the slave, from his protected position, has less need of education than the free laborer, who has to struggle for himself in the career of society; yet it is both useful to him, his master and society. The want of legal protection to the marriage relation is also a fruitful source of objection among the opponents of slavery. The complaint is not without foundation—this is

an evil not yet remedied by law ; but marriage is not inconsistent with the institution of slavery as it exists among us, and the objection, therefore, lies rather to an incident than to the essence of the system. But, in truth and fact, marriage does exist to a very great extent among slaves, and is encouraged and protected by their owners ; and it will be found, upon careful investigation, that fewer children are born out of wedlock among slaves than in the capitals of two of the most civilized countries of Europe—Austria and France. In the former one-half of the children are thus born ; in the latter more than one-fourth.

But even in this we have deprived the slave of no pre-existing right. We found the race without any knowledge of or regard for the institution of marriage, and we are reproached with not having as yet secured them that with all the other blessings of civilization and religion. To protect that and other domestic ties by laws forbidding, under proper regulations, the separation of families, would be wise, proper and humane, and some of the slaveholding States have already adopted partial legislation for the removal of these evils. But the objection is far more formidable in theory than practice. The accidents and necessities of life produce infinitely a greater amount of separation in families of the white than ever happens to the colored race. This is true, even in the United States, where the general condition of the people is prosperous. But it is still more marked in Europe. The injustice and despotism of England towards Ireland have produced more separation of Irish families, and sundered more domestic ties, within the last ten years, than African slavery has effected since its introduction into the United States. The twenty millions of freemen in the United States are witnesses of the dispersive injustice of the Old World. The general happiness, cheerfulness and contentment of the slaves attest both the mildness and humanity of their treatment, and their natural adaptation to their condition. They require no standing armies to enforce their obedience, while the evidences of discontent and the appliances of force to repress it are everywhere visible among the toiling millions of the earth. Even in the northern States of this Union, strikes, and labor unions, and combinations against employers, attest at once the misery and discontent of labor among them. England keeps one hundred thousand soldiers in time of peace, a large navy, and an innumerable police, to secure obedience to her social institutions ; and physical force is the sole guaranty of her social order—the only cement of her gigantic empire.

I have briefly traced the condition of the African race through all ages and all countries, and described it fairly and truly under American slavery, and I submit the proposition is fully proven that his position in slavery among us is superior to any which he has ever attained in any age or country. The picture is not without shade as well as light. Evils and imperfections cling to man and all his institutions, and this is not exempt from them. The condition of the slave offers great opportunities for abuse, and these opportunities are frequently used to violate humanity and justice. But the laws restrain these abuses and punish these crimes in this as well as in all other relations of life. And they who assume it as a fundamental principle in the constitution of man that abuse is the unvarying concomitant of power and crime of opportunity, subvert the foundation of all private morals and of every social system. Nowhere do these assumptions find a nobler refutation than in the general treatment of the African race by southern slaveholders; and we may with hope and confidence safely leave to them the removal of existing abuses, and such further ameliorations as may be demanded by justice, humanity and christianity. The condition of the African, whatever may be his interests, may not be permanent among us; he may find his exodus in the unvarying laws of population. Under the conditions of labor in England and the continent of Europe, domestic slavery is impossible there, and could not exist here or anywhere else. The moment wages decrease to a point barely sufficient to support the laborer and his family, capital cannot afford to own labor, and it must cease. Slavery in England ceased in obedience to this law, and not from any regard to liberty and humanity. The increase of population in this country may produce the same result, and American slavery, like that of England, may find its euthanasia in the general prostration of all labor.

The next aspect in which I propose to examine this question is its effects upon the material interests of the slaveholding States. Thirty years ago slavery was assailed mainly on the ground that it was wasteful, unproductive and unprofitable labor. Some years ago we were urged to emancipate the blacks in order to make them more useful and productive members of society. The result of the experiments in the West India Islands, to which I have before referred, not only disproved, but utterly annihilated this theory. The theory was true as to the white race, and not true as to the black; and this single fact made thoughtful men pause and ponder before advancing further with this folly of abolitionism. An inquiry into the wealth and production of the slaveholding

States of this Union demonstrates that slave labor can be economically and profitably employed, at least in agriculture, and leaves the question in great doubt whether it cannot be thus employed in the south more advantageously than any other description of labor. The same truth will be made manifest by a comparison of the productions of Cuba and Brazil, not only with Hayti and Jamaica, but with the free races in the similar latitudes engaged in the same or similar productions in any part of the world. The slaveholding States, with one half of the white population and between three and four millions of slaves, furnish alone three-fifths of the exports of the republic, containing twenty-three millions of people; and their entire products, including every branch of industry, greatly exceed those per capita of the most populous northern States. The difference in realized wealth in proportion to population is not less remarkable and equally favorable to the slaveholding States. But this is not a fair comparison—on the contrary, it is exceedingly unfair to the slaveholding States. The question of material advantage would be settled on the side of slavery whenever it is shown that our mixed society was more productive and prosperous than any other mixed society with the inferior race free, instead of slave. The question is not whether we would not be more prosperous and happy with these three and a half millions of slaves in Africa, and their places filled with an equal number of hardy, intelligent and enterprising citizens of a superior race, but is simply whether, while we have them among us, we would be most prosperous with them in freedom or bondage.

With this bare statement of the true issue, I can safely leave the question to the facts already referred to, and to those disclosed in the late census. But the truth itself needs some explanation, as it seems to be a great mystery to the opponents of slavery how the system is capable, at the same time, of increasing the comforts and happiness of the slave, the profits of the master, and do no violence to humanity. Its solution rests upon very obvious principles. In this relation, the labor of the country is united with and protected by its capital, directed by the educated and intelligent, secured against its own weakness, waste and folly—associated in such form as to give the greatest efficiency in protection, and the least cost of maintenance. Each individual free black laborer is the victim not only of his own folly and extravagance, but of his ignorance, misfortune and necessities. His isolation enlarges his expenses without increasing his comforts; his want of capital increases the price of everything he buys, disables him

from supplying his wants at favorable times or on advantageous terms, and throws him into the hands of retailers and extortioners. But labor united with capital, directed by skill, forecast and intelligence, while it is capable of its production, is freed from all these evils, and leaves a margin both for increased comforts to the laborer and additional profits to capital. This is the explanation to the seeming paradox.

The opponents of slavery, passing by the question of material interests, insist that its effects on the society where it exists is to demoralize and enervate it, and render it incapable of advancement and a high civilization, and upon the citizen to debase him morally and intellectually. Such is not the lesson taught by history, either sacred or profane, nor the experience of our own past or present.

To the Hebrew race was committed the oracles of the Most High. Slaveholding priests administered at his altar, and slaveholding prophets and patriarchs received his revelations and taught them to their own and transmitted them to all other generations of men. The highest form of ancient civilization and the noblest development of the individual man are to be found in the ancient slaveholding commonwealths of Greece and Rome. In eloquence in rhetoric, in poetry and painting, in architecture and sculpture, you must still go and search amid the wreck and ruins of their genius for the "pride of every model and the perfection of every master," and the language and literature of both, stamped with immortality, pass on to mingle with the thought and the speech of all lands and all centuries. But I will not multiply illustrations. That domestic slavery neither enfeebles nor deteriorates our race—that it is not inconsistent with the highest advancement of men and society, is the lesson taught by all ancient, and confirmed by all modern history. Its effects in strengthening the attachment of the dominant race to liberty was eloquently expressed by Mr. Burke, the most accomplished and philosophical statesman England ever produced. In his speech on conciliation with America, he uses the following language: "Where this is the case, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. * * * I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so, and these people of the southern States are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those to the northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths—such were our Gothic ancestors, and such, in our day, were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves who are not slaves themselves. In such a people the haughtiness of domination combines itself with the spirit of freedom, justifies it, and renders it invincible."

No stronger evidence of what progress society may make with domestic slavery could be desired than that which the present condition of slaveholding States present. For near twenty years foreign and domestic enemies of their institutions have labored, by pen and speech, to excite discontent among the white race, and insurrection among the black. These efforts have shaken the national government to its foundations, and burst the bonds of Christian unity among the churches of the land, yet the object of their attack—these States—have scarcely felt the shock. In surveying the whole world, the eye rests not upon a single spot where all classes of society are so well contented with their social system, or have greater reason to be so, than the slaveholding States of this Union. Stability, progress, order, peace, content, prosperity, reign throughout our borders; not a single soldier is to be found in our widely extended domain to over-awe or protect society. The desire for organic change nowhere manifests itself. Within less than seventy years, out of five feeble colonies, with less than one and a half million of inhabitants, have emerged fourteen republican States, containing nearly ten millions of inhabitants—rich, powerful, educated, moral, refined, prosperous, and happy; each with republican governments, adequate to the protection of public liberty and private rights, which are cheerfully obeyed, supported and upheld by all classes of society. With a noble system of internal improvements, penetrating almost every neighborhood, stimulating and rewarding the industry of our people; with moral and intellectual, surpassing physical improvements; with churches, school houses, and colleges daily multiplying throughout the land, bringing education and religious instruction to the houses of all the people, they exhibit a spectacle which challenges the admiration of the world. None of this great improvement and progress has been aided by the federal government; we have neither sought from it protection for our private pursuits, nor appropriations for our public improvements. They have been effected by the unaided individual efforts of an enlightened, moral, energetic, and religious people. Such is our social system, and such our condition under it. Its political wisdom is indicated in its effects on society; its morality by the practices of the patriarchs and the teachings of the apostles. We submit to the judgment of the civilized world, with the firm conviction that the adoption of no other system under our circumstances would have exhibited the individual man, bond or free, in a higher development, or society in a happier civilization.

WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS.*

One of the most consistent and accomplished authors by profession the country has produced, is a native of Charleston, South Carolina. He was born April 17, 1806. His father, who bore the same name, was of Scoto-Irish descent, and his mother, Harriet Ann Augusta Singleton, was of a Virginia family, which came early to the State, and was found in the revolutionary times on the whig side. William Gilmore Simms, the elder, having failed in Charleston as a merchant, removed to Tennessee, where he held a commission in Coffee's brigade of mounted men, under the command of Jackson, employed in the Indian war against the Creeks and Seminoles. His wife died while our author, the second son, was in his infancy, and he was left in the absence of his father to the care of his grandmother. Though his early education derived little aid from the pecuniary means of his family, which were limited, and though he had not the benefit of early classical training, yet the associations of this part of his life were neither unhappy nor unproductive, while his energy of character and richly endowed intellect were marking out an immediate path of mental activity and honor. Choosing the law for a profession, he was admitted to the bar at Charleston at the age of twenty-one. He did not long practice the profession, but turned its peculiar training to the uses of a literary life. His first active engagement was in the editorship of a daily newspaper, the "Charleston City Gazette," in which he opposed the prevailing doctrine of nullification; he wrote with industry and spirit, but being interested in the paper as its proprietor, and the enterprise proving unsuccessful, he was stripped by its failure of the limited patrimony he had embarked in it.

The commencement of his career as an author had preceded this. He wrote verses at eight years of age, and first appeared before the public as a poet in the publication, about 1825, of a "Monody on General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney." A volume, "Lyrical and other poems," appeared from his pen, in 1827, at Charleston, followed by "Early Lays" the same year. Another volume, "The Vision of Cortes, Cain, and other Poems," appeared in 1829, and the next year a celebration, in verse, of the French revolution of 1830, "The Tricolor, or Three Days of Blood in Paris.

Shortly after this date, in 1832, Mr. Simms visited New York, where his imaginative poem, "Atalantis, a Story of the Sea," published by the Harpers in that year, introduced him to the literary circles of the city, in which he was warmly

* From Duykinck's Encyclopedia.

welcomed. *Atalantis* was a successful poem with the publishers, a rarity at any time, and more noticeable in this case as the work of an unheralded, unknown author. It is written with easy elegance, in smooth blank verse, interspersed with frequent lyrics. *Atalantis*, a beautiful and virtuous princess of the Nereids, is alternately flattered and threatened by a monster into whose power she has fallen by straying on the ocean beyond her domain, and becoming subject to his magical spells. She recovers her freedom by the aid of a shipwrecked Spanish knight, whose earthly nature enables him to penetrate the gross atmosphere of the island which the demon had extemporized for her habitation. The prison disappears, and the happy pair descend to the caves of ocean.

The next year the Harpers published Mr. Simms' first tale "*Martin Faber, the Story of a Crimmal*," written in the intense passionate style. It secured at once public attention.

The author had now fairly entered upon the active literary life which he has since pursued without interruption; and so uniform has been his career, that a few words will sum up the incident of his history. A second marriage to the daughter of Mr. Roach, a wealthy planter of the Barnwell district, his first wife having died soon after their union, before his visit to New York; a seat in the State legislature, and the reception of the Doctorate of Law from the University of Alabama; his summer residence at Charleston and his home winter life on the plantation of Woodlands at Midway, with frequent visits to the northern cities; these are the few external incidents of a career, the events of which must be sought for in the achievements of the author. The later are sufficiently numerous and important.

To proceed with their production in some classified order, the author's poems may be first enumerated. The publication, next to those already mentioned, was a volume in New York, in 1839, "*Southern Passages and Pictures*," lyrical, sentimental and descriptive; "*Donna Florida, a Tale*" in the Don Juan style, with a Spanish heroine, published at Charleston in 1843; "*Grouped Thoughts and Scattered Fancies*," a collection of sonnets; "*Areytos, or Songs of the South*," 1846; "*Lays of the Palmetto*," a number of ballads illustrative of the progress of the South Carolina regiments in the Mexican war in 1848; a new edition of "*Atalantis*" the same year at Philadelphia; "*The Eye and the Wing*, Poem chiefly imaginative;" "*The Cassique of Accabee, a Tale of Ashley River, with other Pieces*," New York, 1849; "*The City of the Silent*," a poem delivered at the consecration of Magnolia Cemetery, Charleston, in 1850.

In 1853, two volumes of poems were published by Redfield,

comprising a selection, with revisions and additions from the preceding. In dramatic literature Mr. Simms has written "Norman Maurice, or the Man of the People," in which the action is laid in the present day; and the author grapples resolutely in blank verse with the original every day materials of familiar life. The scene opens in Philadelphia. Maurice is the suitor for the hand of Clarice, whom he marries, to the discomfiture of an intriguing aunt, Mrs. Jervas, (whose name and character recall her prototype in Pamela,) and a worthless Robert Warren, kinsman and enemy, who retains a forged paper which Maurice had playfully executed as a boyish freak of penmanship, which had been made negotiable, and which Maurice had "taken up," receiving from his cunning relative a copy of the papers in place of the original, the latter being kept to ruin him as time might serve. In the second act we have Maurice pursuing his career in the west, in Missouri, as the Man of the People. In a lawsuit which he conducts for a widow he confronts in her oppressor the fire-eating bully of the region, with whom he fights a duel, and is talked of for senator. The scoundrel Warren follows him, and seeks to gain control over his wife by threatening to produce the forged paper at a critical moment for his political reputation. She meets the villain to receive the paper, and stabs him. The widow's cause is gained; all plots, personal and political, discomfited; and Missouri, at the close, enjoys the very best prospect of securing an honest senator. Though this play is a bold attempt, with much new ground to be broken, it is managed with such skill, in the poetical blank verse, and with so consistent, manly a sentiment, that we pay little attention to its difficulties.

"Michael Bonham, or the Fall of the Alamo," is a romantic drama founded upon an event in Texan history. Both of these have been acted with success. Mr. Simms has also adapted for stage purposes Shakspeare's play of "Timon," with numerous additions of his own. This drama has been purchased by Mr. Forrest, and is in preparation for the stage.

Of Mr. Simm's Revolutionary Romances, "The Partisan," published in 1835, was the earliest, the first of a trilogy, completed by the publication of "Mellichampe and Katharine Walton, or the Rebel of Dorchester," which contains a delineation of social life at Charleston in the revolutionary period. The action of these pieces covers the whole period of active warfare of the revolution in South Carolina, and presents every variety of military and patriotic movement of the regular and partisan encounter of the swamp and forest country. They include the career of Marion, Sumpter, Pick-

ens, Moultrie, Hayne, and others, on the constant battle field of the State, South Carolina being the scene of the most severe conflicts of the revolution. These works have been succeeded at long intervals by "The Scout," originally called "The Kinsmen, or the Black Riders of the Congaree," and "Woodcraft, or Hawks about the Dovecot," originally published as "The Sword and the Distaff." "Eutaw," which includes the great action known by this name, is the latest of the author's compositions in this field. "Guy Rivers, a Tale of Georgia," the first regularly constructed novel of Mr. Simms, belongs to a class of border tales, with which may be classed "Richard Hurdis, or the Avenger of Blood, a Tale of Alabama;" "Border Beagles, a Tale of Mississippi;" "Beauchampe, a Tale of Kentucky," founded upon a story of crime in the State, which has employed the pens of several American writers; "Helen Halsey, or the Swamp State of Conelachia;" "The Golden Christmas, a Chronicle of St. John's Berkeley."

The historical romances include "The Yemassee, a Romance of Carolina," an Indian story, founded upon the general conspiracy of that colony to massacre the whites in 1715—the portraiture of the Indian in this work, based by Mr. Simms upon personal knowledge of many of the tribes, correcting numerous popular misconceptions of the character; "Pelago, a Story of the Goth," and its sequel, "Count Julian," both founded on the invasion of Spain by the Saracens, the fate of Roderick, and the apostasy of the traitor from whom the second work is named; "The Damsel of Darien," the hero of which is the celebrated Vasco Nunez de Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific; "The Lily and the Totem, or the Huguenots in Florida," an historical romance, of one of the most finely marked and characteristic episodes in the colonial annals of the country, bringing into view the three rival nations of Spain, France, and the Red Men of the continent, at the very opening of the great American drama before the appearance of the English; "Vasconcelos," the scene of which includes the career of De Soto in Florida and the Havana. In the last work, Mr. Simms introduces the degradation of a knight by striking of his spurs, under the most imposing scenes of chivalry—one of the most delicate and elaborate of his many sketches. This was first published under the *nom de plume* of "Frank Cooper."

Another class of Mr. Simms' novels may be generally ranked as the moral and the imaginative, and are both of a domestic and romantic interest. This was the author's earliest vein, the series opening with "Martin Faber," published in 1833,

followed at intervals by "Carl Werner," "Confession of the Blind Heart," "The Wigwam and the Cabin," a collection of tales, including several in which an interest of the imagination is sustained with striking effect; and "Castle Dismal, or the Bachelor's Christmas," a domestic legend, in 1844, a South Carolina Ghost Story; "Marie de Berniere, a Tale of the Crescent City," with other short romances.

In history, Mr. Simms has produced a "History of South Carolina," and "South Carolina in the Revolution," a critical and argumentative work, suggestive of certain clues overlooked by historians. A "Geography of South Carolina" may be ranked under this head, and reference should be made to the numerous elaborate review and magazine articles, of which a protracted discussion of the "Civil Warfare of the South" in the Southern Literary Messenger, the "American Loyalists of the Revolutionary Period" in the Southern Quarterly Review, and frequent papers illustrating the social and political history of the South, are the most noticeable. Mr. Simms' contributions to biography embrace a "Life of Francis Marion," embodying a minute and comprehensive view of the partisan warfare in which he was engaged; "The Life of John Smith," which affords opportunity for the author's best narrative talent and display of the picturesque; a kindred subject, "The Life of the Chevalier Bayard," handled *con amore*, and "The Life of General Greene," of the revolution. These are all the works of considerable extent, and are elaborated with care.

In criticism, Mr. Simms' pen has traversed the wide field of the literature of his day, both foreign and at home. He has edited the imputed plays of Shakspeare with notes and preliminary essays.*

To periodical literature he has always been a liberal contributor, and has himself founded and conducted several reviews and magazines. Among these may be mentioned "The Southern Literary Gazette," a monthly magazine, which reached two volumes in 1825; "The Cosmopolitan, An Occasional;" "The Magnolia, or Southern Apalachian," a literary magazine and monthly review, published at Charleston in 1842-'3; "The Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review," published in two volumes in 1845, which he edited; while he has frequently contributed to the Knickerbocker, Orion, Southern Literary Messenger, Graham's, Godey's, and other magazines. A review of Mrs. Trollope,

* A Supplement to the Plays of William Shakspeare, comprising the Seven Dramas which have been ascribed to his pen, but which are not included with his writings in modern editions; edited with notes, and an introduction to each play. 8vo. Coolege and Brother. New York. 1848.

in the American Quarterly for 1832, attracted considerable



W. Gilmore Simms



RESIDENCE OF WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS.

attention at the time. In 1849 Mr. Simms became editor of the Southern Quarterly Review, to which he had previously contributed, and which was revived by his writings and personal influence. Several miscellaneous productions may be introduced in this connexion: "The Book of my Lady," a melange, in 1833; "Views and Reviews of American History, Literature, and Art," including several lectures, critical papers, and biographical sketches; "Father Abbot, or the Home Tourist, a Medley," embracing sketches of scenery, life, manners, and customs of the south; "Egeria, or Voices of Thought and Counsel for the Woods and Wayside," a collection of aphorisms, and brief essays in prose and verse; "Southward Ho!" a species of Decameron, in which a group of travellers, interchanging opinion and criticism, discuss

the scenery and circumstances of the south, with frequent introduction of song and story; "The Morals of Slavery," first published in the Southern Literary Messenger, and since included in the volume entitled "The Pro-Slavery Argument."

In addition to these numerous literary productions, Mr. Simms is the author of several orations on public occasions: "The Social Principle, The True Secret of National Permanence," delivered in 1842 before the literary society of the

University of Alabama; "The True Sources of American Independence," in 1844, before the town council and citizens of Aiken, (S. C.); "Self-Development," in 1847, before the literary societies of Oglethorpe University, Georgia; "The Battle of Fort Moultrie," an anniversary discourse on Sullivan's Island; two courses of lectures of three each, "On Poetry and the Practical," and "The Moral Character of Hamlet."

The numerous writings of Mr. Simms are characterized by their earnestness, sincerity, and thoroughness. Hard worker as he is in literature, he pursues each subject with new zeal and enthusiasm. They are a remarkable series of works, when it is considered how large a portion of them involve no inconsiderable thought and original research. But Mr. Simms is no ordinary worker. Much as he has accomplished, much lies before him; and in the prime of life, with a physical constitution which answers every demand of the active intellect, he still pursues new game in the literary world.

As an author, he has pursued an honorable, manly career. His constant engagements in the press, as a critic and reviewer, have given him opportunities of extending favors to his brother writers, which he has freely employed. His generosity in this respect is noticable. Nor has this kindness been limited by any local feeling; while his own State has found in him one of the chief—in a literary view the chief—supporter of her interests.* As a novelist, Mr. Simms is vigorous in delineation, dramatic in action, poetic in his description of scenery, a master of plot, and skilled in the arts of the practiced story teller. His own tastes led him to the composition of poetry and the provinces of imaginative literature, and he is apt to introduce much of their spirit into his prose creations. His powers as an essayist, fond of discussing the philosophy of his subject, are of a high order. He is ingenious in speculation and fertile in argument. Many as are his writings, there is not one of them which does not exhibit some ingenious, worthy, truthful quality.

DISTINCTIVE PECULIARITIES AND DISEASES OF THE NEGRO RACE.*

Whatever may be the proper explanation of these existing distinctions between races, and people of the same race, in this and other countries, it is not more certain that they exist, than that fever prevails and has always prevailed among the slave population of the southern States to a remarkable extent. No existing condition of life, occupation, exposure, or variety of location, affords our slave population any exemp-

* By A. P. Merrill, M. D., in the Memphis Medical Recorder.

tion from this form of disease. It affects indiscriminately both sexes, and all ages, from the new-born infant up to the centenarian, although, it is true, that the two extremes of the catenary are less commonly affected than the intermediate ages, and particularly the latter. As with the white race occupying the same localities, negroes of both sexes are most liable to attacks of fever between the ages of twenty and forty years, embracing the most active and vigorous period of life, as well as that in which men and women of the laboring classes are most exposed to those influences which are supposed to predispose them to attacks of disease. It is probably true of both races alike, that laborers in the open air, tillers of the soil, and all whose occupations subject them to constant out-door exposure, are more obnoxious to attacks of febrile disease than those who are engaged in branches of business which may be followed under the shelter of roofs.

Idiopathic fevers affecting negro slaves are mostly of the periodic form. From thirty to forty years ago, this was, by most southern physicians, considered the exclusive character of such fevers among negroes; and although, latterly, since continued, or typhoid fever, has received so much attention from writers on medicine, many medical men in the south have recognized the existence of this variety of febrile disease among slaves, even in an epidemic form, there is still a respectable number of practitioners, of large experience in negro diseases, who do not acknowledge the occurrence of continued or typhoid fever, within the range of their own observations; or that any change of note or importance has taken place in the character of the fevers prevailing in the south, either among the white or colored population, during the past quarter or half century. They are still content in the pursuit of the same plan, in designating the different forms and phases of fever, which was almost uniformly practiced, before typhoid fever was spoken of in connexion with southern diseases. Besides the epithets having reference to the periods of remission, it has been customary, also, to designate different cases by such terms as indicate the seat of the most serious and obstinate local lesion, as well as the general pathological peculiarity. In this way have been brought into common and popular use the terms intermittent and remittent, brain, gastric, enteric, pneumonic, bilious, congestive, malignant, &c. The use of these and many other expletives, multiplied and varied, as they doubtless have been by both fancy and fashion, in no way interfere with the opinion more or less prevalent throughout the southern States, that the idiopathic disease, primarily affecting the whole system, is the same at the present time as that which came so constantly under observation

in former years, exhibiting, so far as it may be uninfluenced by treatment, precisely the same symptoms, and exhibiting precisely the same therapeutical indications.

The differences of opinion now existing in reference to changes which are supposed to have taken place in the character of southern fevers and in reference to the introduction and prevalence of a new form of fever, of a continued and adynamic or typhoid type, entertained, as they appear to be, by parties of equal capabilities, must have arisen either from a misapprehension of the true character of fevers formerly prevailing, from the influence of novel plans of treatment, or from the fact that fevers of the kind alluded to have actually appeared in certain localities without showing themselves in others. Our own experience, extending over a period of more than one-third of a century, does not lead us to the conclusion that any material changes have taken place during that time in the character of southern fevers, as they affect either the white or the negro race. It has not happened to us to meet with a case of typhoid fever, as described by European authors, or one which appeared of necessity to run its own protracted course without a possibility of being interrupted and controlled by treatment. Nor have we had the misfortune to witness a case of idiopathic fever in which the anti-periodic treatment suitably applied in the early stages, was unavailing or injurious; or one which has pertinaciously prolonged its course for weeks, in spite of such treatment. The experience of some other physicians is in accordance with our own, and hence the difficulty which exists in reconciling the conflicting opinions prevailing on the subject.

Periodic fever, in all its various forms, it cannot be denied, has been, since the first introduction of the negro race into the southern States of America, not only the principal kind of fever, but the principal disease to which the race has been subject. Nor should this be ranked among the peculiarities of the negro, to distinguish it from the white race, during the same period; for this form of disease has attacked the latter even more generally and violently than the former; and it has, in some portions of the southern States, proved exceedingly destructive to the lives of both. Besides the fact that the white race is more liable to attacks of periodic fever everywhere, its greater suffering and mortality in some parts of the South may be accounted for from the fact, that, in making establishments for planting purposes, the owner of slaves has generally chosen for himself and family the most insalubrious locality. At the period when a large portion of the country, now occupied by cotton and sugar plantations, was in the course of its first settlement, an opinion prevailed

—and the same opinion still has its advocates—that the greatest security from fever was to be found upon the most elevated and least productive grounds. These are generally situated at a moderate distance from water courses, and beyond the immediate neighborhood of the rich alluvial soils to be subdued and cultivated. Hence the early emigrants to Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana generally aimed, after establishing their slaves, as a matter of necessity, upon the bottom lands, and upon the immediate shores of the rivers and lakes, to fix their own residences, whenever practicable, upon the neighboring bluffs or ridges of high lands, where they believed themselves less exposed to the causes of periodic fever, and where they could enjoy the cooling breezes of the summer season.

Taught to believe that the constitution and habits of negroes render them less liable to the pernicious effects of malarial exhalations, so called, the natural expectation was, that although their slaves were located in places where these exhalations are supposed especially to abound, this partial immunity of the race would preserve them from greater danger than they themselves would be subject to in their chosen retreats. Hence there could be no moral wrong in the adoption of different and separate places of abode. But rigid experience, which frequently puts medical theories to such severe tests, almost daily demonstrated the fact that, not only were the white race, under this arrangement of dwelling places, more liable to fevers than the negro, but that the slaves who were required to be in attendance upon the white family, and those who were engaged in the limited cultivation of the less productive soils of the homestead, were more obnoxious to febrile influences than their more fortunate but less cherished compeers employed upon the cotton and sugar fields below.

The differences in the susceptibility of the two races to attacks of febrile disease has been less distinctly marked whenever, from choice or necessity, they have fixed their homes in close proximity with each other upon the rich alluvial soils. This has been sufficiently observed to induce many southern planters, in emigrating to new and unimproved regions of country, to establish themselves with their negroes upon the low grounds, as a precautionary measure against fever, and whenever convenient, upon the immediate shores of the rivers, bayous and lakes, which were formerly considered so detrimental to health. There are now large districts of country which have been settled in this way and brought under successful cultivation, the inhabitants of which bear testimony every year, in the excellent health they enjoy, to the truth of this position. In the early settlement of Louisiana, large

plantations were opened directly on the shores of the Mississippi, with the broad river in front, and a vast extent of swamp in the rear, upon which both races have lived for many successive generations, without suffering more from fever than communities sometimes suffer in mountainous districts.

Negroes, in being prepared by nature and habit for the enjoyment of health and comfort in hot climates, might be presumed qualified to resist, to some extent, the action of those causes of disease which are dependent, to a partial extent at least, upon the agency of heat in their production. For this, or some other reason not yet discovered, they are known to be much less liable to the more violent and fatal forms of fever in Africa than white persons, even although the latter may have been inured to the country and climate by long residence. This is true, also, in a somewhat less marked degree, in the Southern States. The experience of the rice growers of Carolina and Georgia afford, perhaps, the best illustrations of this difference in susceptibility in this country, while the cotton and sugar estates of Mississippi and Louisiana present only a little less striking and prominent examples; and this notwithstanding the greater exposure of negroes to the common causes of disease by their occupation and habits of life.

In periodic fever, as in many other diseases prevalent in the south, the prominent peculiarity of the negro ailment consists in its degree of violence, and, by consequence, in the extent to which it endangers the life of the patient, rather than in any peculiar pathological characteristics of the disease. A negro attacked by intermittent or remittent fever, presents to the eye of the physician all the usual phenomena of those forms of disease, not to be distinguished from the symptoms of the same disease, as they appear in the white subject. The premonitory symptoms are the same, and the cold stage may be equally insidious, or equally violent, and subject to the same duration in time. The pulmonary and other congestions are likely to be just as severe and urgent, and the following reaction just as violent, with the same thirst, febrile heat, and pain, restlessness, and even delirium, affording indications for the same antiphlogistic and sedative treatment; yet when these remedial measures come to be applied, the effects are found to be more decided, and the danger of excessive medication to be proportionally greater. This is more particularly true of those therapeutical measures which cause sedation and refrigeration. A negro laboring under high febrile excitement may derive great benefit from blood-letting, and under precisely the same conditions which render this remedy so useful to the white man,

but he will require it to be applied to a less extent to produce the same results; and the same is true of other sedative remedies. If, from the want of a proper understanding of this matter, the physician fail to keep it in view, he will frequently be disappointed in results, even although the remedies used may be proper and necessary.

Previously to the discovery of quinia, and its introduction into use in the treatment of periodic fever, the management of negroes suffering from attacks of this disease was a much more difficult and serious matter than at the present day. Cinchona, although very generally employed as a remedy, was not generally relied upon for arresting and curing the disease in its very beginning. The abortive treatment was not then common, nor was the bark resorted to in most cases, particularly of the remittent type, until the *primæ viæ* had been well evacuated, and the excitement pretty well subdued by antiphlogistic means, with such relief of the local lesions as would enable the patient to bear the use of tonic remedies without inconvenience. Few cases recovered so promptly under this plan of treatment as to save the patient from the inconvenience of several successive paroxysms. Until alleviated, either by treatment or by the powers of nature, each successive paroxysm became, of course, more and more severe, causing, among other common effects of such continuance of the disease, constipation of the bowels, and rapid accumulations of fecal matter in the intestinal canal. For the removal of these accumulations, the daily use of cathartic remedies was universally approved and practiced, and considered of essential importance to the safety of the patient. A class of remedies of such obvious necessity in all cases of the disease may well be supposed to have been sometimes used to excess, and thus to afford grounds for the condemnation which the purgative treatment has received from certain authors. Various evil consequences have been attributed to the irritation of the mucous tissues caused by frequent purgations, under the mistaken idea that the disease itself was more or less dependent upon some morbid condition of these tissues from the beginning. But our own observations have led us to the conclusion that the more common error in practice then committed was in purging too little. Hence the fatal injury resulting from the influence of medical authors without experience in the treatment of the disease, about which they undertook to give instructions, and the impropriety of southern physicians taking for their guide the teachings of men who write of the practice suited to fevers in the hospitals of the metropolitan cities of Europe.

No one feature in connexion with the periodic fevers of the south has been more generally recognized by southern physicians than the surprising rapidity with which these fecal accumulations take place, and which are often entirely independent of ingesta. The outpouring of excretions into the intestinal canal is pretty much in proportion to the violence and duration of the disease, or the number of its paroxysms. They are supposed to be excretions from the liver and pancreas, and from the follicular glands of the intestinal canal, and in part, perhaps, exhalations and hemorrhages from capillary vessels, independent of glandular action. The latter might, indeed, be supposed to be the principal sources, because of the fact that, when these accumulations take place most rapidly, the excretions of the system are known to be extensively suspended from the influence of the disease. In case of the continuance of the disease for several successive days, unabated by treatment, the quantity of fecal matter discharged from the bowels, even from the operation of mild cathartics, which do no more than cause a moderate increase in peristaltic action, is frequently so large as to strike both the patient and his friends with surprise, and the greater, as they are aware that little or no food has been used. This is often expressed in connexion with the inquiry as to the possible source of such quantities of morbid matter.

The purgative treatment, therefore, while the disease could not be promptly arrested by any remedy then known, was essential to the safety of the patient, and could prove injurious only in case of hypercatharsis, or the hydrogogue, and consequently debilitating action of the remedies employed. Unless this indication for cathartics were daily observed, and particularly after every febrile exacerbation, tumefaction of the bowels, attended by tenderness upon pressure, oppression, and restlessness, were certain to supervene, with and enhancement of the febrile symptoms, a partial suspension of healthy secretions, and generally considerable gastric irritability. These symptoms were thought to contra-indicate the use of cinchona, the only anti-periodic then much relied upon, or to render its administration in effective doses impracticable, on account of its ejection from the stomach.

Although the treatment of fever then pursued may have been, with propriety, called active, on account of the amount of medication employed, it was in fact merely expectant, inasmuch as the remedies employed were intended to do little more than to remove the products of the disease, and to guard against their cumulative influence and tendency to enhance

the gravity of the symptoms; thus enabling the powers of nature to overcome the action of the morbid cause and gradually restore the patient to a state of health. Cinchona, in substance, was not unfrequently used in union with serpentaria, or some other of the bitter tonics, and sometimes with the further addition of the saline cathartics, and often with good remedial effects, but never with that confidence in its anti-periodic power, which is now accorded to its proximate principle, quinia. To this treatment was often superadded the use of tartar-emetic, or ipecacuanha, in nauseating doses, with a view to moderate and restrain the febrile excitement, and frequently with the unintentional effect of causing watery dejections of a debilitating character from the bowels.

It will be perceived, from this hasty outline of treatment, that its tendency was to subdue the vital forces and debilitate the system, thus favoring the accession of the adynamic condition, which is always found to present serious obstacles to the rapid recovery of negroes from febrile affections. Their physiological peculiarities, of which we have before spoken, might lead us to expect this. Recoveries from fevers were, on this account, frequently slow and imperfect, causing the loss of much valuable time, and often resulting in the establishment of chronic lesions, not only rendering the slave of inferior value for the season, but in many cases laying the foundation for a tedious decline and premature death. An attack of fever of any considerable degree of severity and long duration, could scarcely be expected to run its course to final recovery, after beginning, perhaps, as an intermittent, and passing, for want of remedial efficacy, into the remittent type, and only subsiding after great exhaustion of strength and vital energy, and after the establishment of serious local lesions, without inflicting permanent injury upon the constitution. Tuberculosis, rheumatism, neuralgia, bronchitis, chlorosis, habitual constipation, various forms of indigestion and of uterine disease, were common consequences of the shock thus given to the system.

The introduction of quinia into use in the treatment of periodic fevers worked a great revolution in practice in the south, and particularly in plantation practice among slaves. Its true value to this population was slow to be discovered, and even at the present time is not, perhaps, fully appreciated, although it may be generally acknowledged that it has added to the productiveness of slave labor, and, by consequence, to the national wealth. The effect upon these, produced by a material abridgement of the time lost by sickness, the preservation of the negro constitution from the injuries inflicted

upon it by protracted fevers, and the material prolongation of negro life, is not likely to be over-estimated. It tells largely indeed, upon the amount and value of all the agricultural products, which are the results of slave labor, in all parts of the civilized world where negro slavery is known.

But the revolution in practice, brought about by the discovery and introduction into use of quinia, like most other revolutions in medicine, was slow and difficult of accomplishment. The new remedy being considered of the precise character of cinchona, it was regarded as a mere substitute for that article, and its equivalent quantity being nearly ascertained, the common practice at first was to give it only in very small and equivalent doses, and always under the same conditions, which had come to be considered, from long experience, indications for the use of bark in substance. Indeed, it was then shrewdly suspected by many that greater mischief might arise from an untimely and immoderate use of quinia, because the stomach of the patient could not be relied upon to correct the error of the prescriber by rejecting it, when not in a condition for its use, as was supposed to be the case with the grosser material. Fears were consequently entertained that mischief might often result from its use in too large quantities, and also from its exhibition without due regard to the period of apyrexia. On account of these apprehensions, and the uncertainty which always attends upon new and unproved plans of treatment, experiments were made with extreme caution, and with what are now considered minute doses of this remedy. In plantation practice, this minuteness of dose was, perhaps, favored to some extent by the costliness of quinia in the early period of its use.

It is unnecessary to enter here into a detailed account of those experiments which led to the system of treatment in vogue at the present time, the object of which is to employ this powerful anti-periodic remedy, as to cut short or obliterate the fever in its very inception, and thus obviate the establishment of those local lesions, the consequences of fever, which, while they tend to perpetuate the febrile excitement by the influence of local irritation, create a necessity for the use of alternative and contra-stimulant treatment for an indefinite period of time. The vast accumulations of excretions in the intestinal canal, before referred to, as the effect of repetitions of the febrile paroxysm, being thus prevented, or very much lessened, cathartics become less important and often unnecessary. The consequent abatement in their use has led to the more confident condemnation of the former practice, without due consideration of the change which has taken place in existing indications. Northern and European wri-

ters exultingly refer to this change of practice, as evidence that the purgative treatment formerly so much relied upon was unnecessary ; but every southern physician must be aware that, if the use of quinia were to be now interdicted, and thus deprive physicians of the means of subduing the disease at the very beginning, the same purgative treatment would have to be resumed.

These remarks are not less applicable, perhaps, to the white than to the negro race in the south, but there are some peculiarities in the treatment of the latter which deserve to be noticed. Either from the higher susceptibility of negroes to the anti-periodic influence of quinia, or their exemption from the graver forms of periodic fever, consequent to their peculiar adaption to the climates where these fevers most prevail, rendering their attacks less serious and obstinate, and probably from both causes united, quinia exerts a curative influence over them, if administered in the first remission of the disease, more prompt and decided than over white persons under similar circumstances. Smaller doses are therefore required for the negro than for the white man, while the sedative influence of large quantities of quinia upon the negro constitution is more serious and alarming, sometimes calling for the use of diffusible stimuli to a considerable extent to relieve it. The most effectual remedy of this class which we have used is carbonate of ammonia. This appears, indeed, to be an antidote to what may be considered the toxic effects of quinia upon the negro constitution.

It appears to be generally conceded that negroes are much less liable to be attacked by that form of febrile disease called yellow fever than white persons. In tropical cities they are classed with the exempts ; and in New Orleans, Mobile, and other cities in the south, they are also considered as being liable to the disease only to a moderate extent, and in its mildest form. As we travel northward, we find the negro race more liable to suffer from this form of fever whenever the cause of it exists with sufficient intensity to produce an epidemic. Two reasons may be given for this peculiarity. The first is the fact that negroes, on account of their adaptation to hot climates, may be placed among the most favored of climatized persons ; and the second, they are, perhaps, as a race, and certainly from their habits of life, less liable to gastric inflammation than the white race. Local lesions, therefore, which follow attacks of fever, although, perhaps, quite as likely to occur among negroes as white people, more commonly in the former fix themselves upon other organs than the stomach, the implication of which is the distinctive peculiarity of yellow fever. Whenever yellow fever

is prevailing as an epidemic, therefore, it is common to find negroes attacked with every symptom of the early stage of the disease, and with a dangerous degree of violence; but when the gastric lesion might be expected to become developed in a white person similarly attacked, the stomach of the negro remains intact.

The mulatto, and all the grades of admixture of white and black blood, are obnoxious to attacks of yellow fever, pretty much in proportion to the preponderance of white blood, and when persons of this class do become affected with the gastric lesion, they are, perhaps, even less curable than white persons, on account of their greater feebleness of constitution. Nevertheless it is no less true that every variety of mixed bloods is capable of becoming so fully climatized, even although they may be natives of northern countries, as to be classed among those who are exempt from attacks of yellow fever; and this may happen either from a long residence in the south, or from having suffered an attack of the disease. *Memphis Med. Recorder.*

SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

In our March number we published the proceedings of the Southern Convention, which was held the previous month at Richmond, Virginia. It will be remembered that Mr. R. G. Morris presented some resolutions which were adopted. This gentleman has furnished us a copy of his remarks upon the occasion, which are worthy of preservation.

We meet here to devise measures which will advance southern commerce, southern manufactures and southern prosperity. We have too long submitted to northern monopoly—too long permitted our exports and imports to be burdened with charges of northern merchants, and taxed with transport coastwise expenses—too long looked almost exclusively to the north for manufactured articles, from the broom which sweeps our houses, to the coach in which we make excursions of pleasure, and suffered ourselves to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to pamper northern nabobs, and furnish means to feed northern fanatics.

The first resolution declares that it is expedient that southern legislatures should exempt from the license tax all foreign direct importations, and such other measures as will protect and advance southern commerce.

I believe that it is not only expedient, but absolutely necessary for southern legislatures to relieve from the license tax all direct foreign importations, unless they desire that our importations should be made by northern merchants.

In Virginia, and many of the southern States, the present laws act as bounty given to country merchants to make their purchases at the north; for in Virginia the foreign importer has to pay a license on his importation—the jobber, if he be employed, another—and the retail merchant a third; whereas, if the country merchants in this State purchases his goods in any of the northern cities, he will be exempt from all but one license tax—that to retail his goods. No license tax is required in the northern cities for the sale of imported merchandise, therefore it must be apparent to every person that the license tax in Virginia on foreign importations makes it the interest of her country merchants to make their purchases at the north instead of in the cities of Virginia, and that this unwise legislation must be changed if we ever expect to free ourselves from the thralldom of northern monopoly.

I am aware that this measure will meet with opposition, because it will, to some extent, lessen the revenue received from merchants' licenses, but this paltry loss of revenue sinks into insignificance when we reflect that it will increase our direct trade with Europe—build up southern commerce, and save, as it has been estimated by merchants of high intelligence, to the State of Virginia the annual sum of \$1,500,000, paid for coastwise transportation—charges made by northern merchants—interest on goods delayed in northern custom-houses, and the expense of re-shipping from northern ports.

The second resolution it appears to me ought to be made a political axiom by all southern patriots; that it is expedient that southern manufactures should in all cases be used when they can be procured on advantageous terms as northern manufactures—yet how different is the practice! For you must have noticed that nearly all the passenger cars in which you travel and the locomotives which draw them are made at the north.

Why this preference? Is it that they cannot be manufactured in the southern States on as advantageous terms, and equal in every respect to those built at the north? I answer no; for we have in Virginia machine shops in which cars and locomotives are as cheaply and as well constructed as in the northern cities.

Is it necessary that I should refer you to those in Alexandria, Lynchburg, and Petersburg, in which cities I understand passenger and freight cars are manufactured of superior workmanship.

The most beautiful passenger car I ever rode in was made in Lynchburg, and at a less cost than a similar one could have been procured at the north; yet this manufactory must sink for the want of patronage. In Richmond we have at

least three machine shops for the manufacture of locomotives, and the best evidence I can offer of their being equal if not superior to those at the north is, that contracts for building the engines for two of the government ocean steamers were awarded to Anderson, Delany & Co., in Richmond. Proposals were invited from all quarters, and yet this company satisfied the government that they had made the best offers for these immense engines, both as it regarded cheapness, and construction, than could be obtained elsewhere.

Are chains, spikes, other railroad fastenings, iron bridges, &c., wanted by southern railroads? In this city (Richmond) there are two large establishments where these articles are manufactured of wrought iron; and when we take into consideration the superior quality of the metal, I unhesitatingly say that they are cheaper than can be produced in the United States; for the iron manufactured in Richmond was pronounced by the navy agent superior to any other, and I am informed that a preference has been given by the government for nearly all their iron for chain cables, &c.

Are cast iron chains wanted? In Lynchburg they are manufactured by F. B. Deane, esq., of superior metal, at the low price of three cents per pound.

Why then do not southern railroad companies patronize the southern manufacturers of cars, locomotives, chains, spikes, &c. I answer because most of the engineers and other agents are northern men. They come among us full of the prejudice "that nothing good can come out of Nazareth," and earnestly desire to sustain their friends left behind. They induce the president and directors to give the preference to northern manufacture, and even have led astray southern engineers who ought to know better. This northern feeling is not confined to railroads, but enters into every article of manufacture, for even a Yankee broom is considered better than one made in Virginia, and our tailors who employ poor destitute females to make clothes in southern cities are neglected, and northern garments of equal price preferred.

If a coach be wanted, our southern nabobs must send for it from Yankee-land, when it could be procured equal in quality, and cheaper in price, made at home. A few years ago a gentleman in Lynchburg wanted a coach, and he bought one in New York for \$1,200; I also wanted one and bought mine in Richmond for \$650, and upon a fair examination mine was considered the better coach of the two. But enough of this. It is certainly our duty as southern men, and as patriots, to sustain southern manufactures.

I will proceed to make a few remarks in favor of the third

resolution, "that southern men should patronize southern literary institutions, and use books and periodicals published in the south, when they can be procured." This policy certainly ought to be pursued by southern men. We certainly ought to patronize our own literary institutions in preference to those at the north, when we know that our colleges and universities are equal, if not superior, to any in the United States, and not send our children to northern colleges, which are nothing other than hot-beds of fanaticism, and teach a Silliman, who has grown rich on southern money, that his college, to use his own words, "shall have an eternal vacation."

Our books should also be published in southern cities, for if it were made a principle with southern men to prefer those published at home, establishments for their manufacture would soon be put into operation, that would compete with those at the north, in cheapness, elegance, and durability. The Methodist Church, south, has determined to publish her own books at home, and in this city there are firms prepared for the same purpose, and with proper encouragement, would become great establishments, and free us from our dependence on the north in this particular. We should also discard from our homes and firesides all those flimsy, mischievous, and pestilential northern publications, which are inimical to southern interests and feelings, and sustain those published on southern soil.

I will now proceed to the consideration of the fourth and last resolution, "that in excursions for health or pleasure a preference should be given to watering places and other localities on southern soil." It was formerly, Mr. President, the custom of southern fashionables to visit annually Saratoga and Cape May, but the treatment they have received in the last few years from the free negroes has cooled their ardor for exhibiting themselves, their wives and daughters to northern nabobs; for report says that some of these fashionables were grossly insulted, and even beaten, by the darkies. [A voice: "served them right."] Yes, sir, I answer, served them right; for if southern men must go and spend their time and money among their enemies and villifiers, they cannot justly complain of receiving the treatment which might have been reasonably expected. We have in the south watering places at which those in pursuit of health or pleasure may visit, where they will meet with kindred spirits, and with enjoyments not to be surpassed in other localities.

In Virginia we have warm and hot springs—white sulphur,

salt sulphur and red sulphur springs—sweet springs and alum springs, with the most beautiful and sublime scenery that poetic fancy can imagine—with music and dancing for the gay, with preaching and religious exercises for the pious, and last, though not least, with the beauty and accomplishments of southern ladies, which cannot be surpassed on the face of the globe. Then why go north for health or pleasure.

The policy heretofore pursued by the southern States should be changed. More than two thirds of the exports from the United States are from southern States, yet the portion which is shipped direct to foreign ports is inconsiderable; and of the vast amount of foreign imports and domestic manufactures used in the south, scarcely a tithe is brought directly to us or manufactured among us. As far back as 1769, Virginia imported over \$4,000,000; now, perhaps, not exceeding \$1,000,000. For 1852 her imports were \$752,000, and 1849 were only \$241,000. This proves that the policy of the southern States should be changed. We ought to patronize southern ship owners and ship builders, southern importers and southern manufacturers, use southern books and other publications, and visit our watering places for health and pleasure, instead of where the fanatic Garrison, the negro Douglas, and the romancing Stowe are made objects of almost adoration; where the Constitution is nullified, and even the Holy Bible, the richest boon of a merciful Creator to erring man, is cast aside, and the idle visions of a *higher law* substituted in its stead; where the ministers of the Gospel cease to follow the teachings of their divine Master, of "peace on earth and good will to men," and preach a crusade against southern rights.

I, sir, love our glorious Union. I know that as a united people we can carry our republican institutions to earth's remotest verge. But to retain our rights, to secure southern independence, it is necessary to show to northern men that we can do without them; that we can have manufactories at the south sufficient for our wants; that we can export our productions and import our merchandise in southern ships; and if anything can stay the mad spirit of abolitionism it will be the policy I advocate. If, however, we should be driven to the necessity of severing this glorious Union—which God in his infinite mercy forbid!—the southern States will then be placed in a more elevated position—will then be in a much better situation to exist as an independent confederacy.

AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT OF THE PATENT OFFICE.

The following letter from D. J. Browne to the Committee on Agriculture of Congress, discloses the action of the agricultural branch of the Patent Office, and indicates a mode of improvement in that Bureau :

Measures have been taken to procure from every quarter of the globe such seeds, plants, roots, and cuttings, as would be likely to succeed in any part of the country, and placing them in the hands of persons who were the most likely to test their adaptation to our climate and soil. As a matter of course, many of the experiments thus made unavoidably proved abortive, but in numerous cases they were attended with the most signal success, and a single product, in the opinion of competent judges, has added millions to our resources. For instance, a variety of wheat known as the "Mediterranean," which was brought to this country a few years ago, has proved highly productive, hardy, and maturing several days earlier than other varieties, thereby escaping the ravages of insects and rust, besides being sooner ready for market.

Within the last year no less than seventeen varieties of wheat have been introduced from distant parts of the globe, and distributed in various sections of the Union, most of which promise to be attended with good success.

The "Indian millet," or "Dourah corn," of African origin, has also been introduced, and it constitutes a valuable crop in the south.

The "Japan pea," unsurpassed by all others in its yield, believed to be of Eastern origin, has been cultivated in various parts of the country with remarkable results.

The "Chinese yam," originally from China, but more recently from France, which promises to serve as an excellent substitute both for the sweet and common potato, has been sufficiently tested to prove its value in the Southern as well as in the Middle States.

The "chufa," or "earth almond," a small tuberous esculent, from the south of Spain, which has naturalized itself to our soil and climate, has proved prolific in its yield when grown in light sandy soils, as well as those which are rich, and bids fair to become a valuable forage crop for cattle and swine.

At least thirty varieties of turnip seed, including the best cultivated in England, as well as on the continent of Europe, have been imported and disseminated in every State and Territory of the Union. The benefits are already apparent. Similar experiments are now being instituted with all the leading varieties of grasses, cabbages, and peas, of Europe, the results of which will soon be made known.

Among the forage crops, it may be mentioned that the Chinese sugar cane (*Sorgho Sucre*), a new gramineous plant of Chinese origin, but more recently from France, has been introduced, and has proved itself well adapted to the geographical range of Indian corn. The amount of fodder which it will produce to the acre is estimated to be twenty-five tons, the stalks of which are filled with a rich saccharine juice, the whole plant being devoured with avidity by cattle, horses and swine. It is of easy cultivation, being similar to that of maize or broom corn; and if the seeds are sown early in May, in the middle States, two crops of fodder can be raised from the same roots in the season—one about the first of August, and the other in October.

Another valuable forage crop, the "German millet" (*Moha de Hongrie*), has been introduced from France, which is very productive, of quick growth, resists drought, and flourishes well on dry soils.

Among the cuttings and fruit trees and vines which have been introduced, may be mentioned the "Prune d'Agen," the "Prune Sainte Catharine," and the "Vigne Corinth." The two former have been grafted on the common plum in all the States north of Pennsylvania, and on the mountainous districts of that State, Maryland and Virginia. From the success which has attended this experiment, there is every reason to hope that there will soon be produced sufficient dried prunes in those regions to supply the wants of the whole Union. Among the seeds of indigenous growth, which have been selected and distributed in reference to their superior qualities, as well as to their probable adaptedness to certain parallels and localities, and which have proved highly productive, there may be noted several varieties of Indian corn.

Among these are the "Improved King Philip," or "brown corn," obtained from an island in a lake in New Hampshire, which was extensively distributed in all the States north of New Jersey, and the mountainous districts of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The result has been that it matured in less than ninety days from the time of planting, (about the middle of June,) and yielded, in one instance, 134 bushels of shelled corn to the acre. Another superior variety, from New Mexico, the "New Mexican White Flint," has been distributed, which appears to be adapted to the entire corn region south of Massachusetts. For culinary use, either green or dry, its quality of excellence is unsurpassed.

Among the products which it has been proposed to introduce from abroad, with a view of making special experiments, to be conducted by agricultural societies, or by individuals,

in the several States and Territories of the Union, may be named considerable quantities of all the best varieties of wheat and of other cereals of the globe. In addition to these there might be imported the seeds, roots, or cuttings of all the principal economical plants and trees known, and experimented upon in a similar manner.

In connexion with this subject, I would suggest the expediency of Congress making annual appropriations for the purpose of agriculture sufficiently early in the session to order most of the seeds to be grown the approaching season, so that they may be received in time for distribution by January 1, or before. For it has been found by experience that when large orders for seed have been made after the month of April or May, it was impracticable for the seedsmen to furnish an adequate supply without procuring them from various sources, and this too often requiring several months. Hence most of the seeds would arrive too late for the southern and middle sections of the Union, or if they were attempted to be kept over till the next fall, they would be either devoured by vermin or insects, or rendered worthless by age.

Another feature connected with these appropriations which appears to need simplification or reform, is some more feasible and equitable plan of disposing of these seeds than has been adopted heretofore.

I would, therefore, suggest that instead of distributing them promiscuously, through members of Congress, societies, or individuals, who may apply directly for them at the Patent Office, suitable arrangements be made by said members for them to be sent in bundles not exceeding four pounds weight, franked by the Commissioner of Patents, to the State, territorial, and county agricultural societies, or to the secretaries of States or Territories, or county clerks, where there are no such societies, to be distributed by mail or otherwise, to proper individuals residing in each State, Territory, or county, for trial or special experiment, with a request that each recipient shall report the result for the use of the Patent Office.

To insure the free and speedy transport of each small packet of cuttings or seeds, an appropriate stamp might be placed upon it, bearing the imprint of the name of the member of Congress or territorial delegate in whose district or Territory any such society may be located, or in which any secretary of State or Territory, or county clerk may reside.

The apportionment of the packets sent to the State societies might bear a stamp containing the name of the senators of each of the States respectively. This change can only be effected by an amendment in the postal law, and necessarily would come before the Committee on Post Offices.

CHEMICAL RESEARCHES ON THE COTTON PLANT.

At a meeting lately held in Washington, the corresponding secretary read a paper by Charles T. Jackson, of Boston, entitled "Chemical Researches on the Seed of the Cotton Plant." Having become interested in the cultivation of the cotton crop, Dr. J. also turned his attention to the uses of cotton seed, the great mass of which is thrown out from the gin-house and allowed to rot for manure. His researches show that the seed may be profitably employed in the production of oil, whilst the refuse fibre adhering to the hulls may be used in the manufacture of paper. The oil-cake may serve to feed animals or as manure. Dr. Jackson is aware that cotton seed oil is manufactured in New Orleans, but is informed that the yield of oil is very small from the unprepared seeds, compared with that from seeds that have been hulled. The analysis was confined to the seed after being deprived of the hull by Mr. Messer's patent machine. The amount of oil in these seeds was determined by extraction with either, after the seed had been pulverized and dried at 212° F. One experiment gave 38.7 per cent. of oil, and another 40. The specific gravity of this oil is 0.923, (water being unity,) the same as purified whale oil. Cotton seed oil is stated by Dr. Wood to be a drying oil, but the oil obtained by Dr. J. did not dry. It therefore serves well for the lubrication of machinery, as well as for illumination and making soap. It may also be used as a substitute for olive oil in many cases, and may be eaten on salad, as it has no disagreeable odor or taste.

The oil-cake amounts to 60 per cent. of the seed, which was found to contain 11 per cent. of grape sugar, and 3.5 per cent. of gum, which latter is soluble in boiling water, and precipitable by alcohol.

Repeated analysis of the oil-cake gave the following results:

Carbon,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37.740
Oxygen,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39.663
Nitrogen,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.753
Hydrogen,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.869
Salts, (inorganic)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8.960
									<hr/>
									99.985

From 3,000 grains of oil-cake 16.5 grains of ashes were obtained, which, upon analysis, gave the following results, when calculated in hundredths of the dried seed:

Alkaline salts soluble in water, - - - -	0.13
Phosphate of lime, - - - -	3.04
Potash, - - - -	0.46
Soda, - - - -	0.53
Phosphoric acid, with traces of sulphuric acid and chlorine, - - - -	0.81
Silica and oxide of iron and of manganese, - -	0.18
Loss, - - - -	0.35
	<hr/>
	5.50

The whole amount of phosphoric acid present was 2.456, and of lime 1.340.

These results explain the value of cotton seed as manure for Indian corn, which draws so largely on the soil for phosphates. It will also be seen that the oil-cake contains nitrogen and hydrogen sufficient to afford ten per cent. of ammonia, which is a solvent, career and stimulent to vegetation. The carbon and oxygen will form carbonic acid, another active fertilizer. Some remaining carbon will form vegetable mould, which the alkalies will in part dissolve and carry into the circulation of growing plants. Indeed, every element of cotton seed-cake acts as nutriment to vegetation.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF LOUISIANA.

We extract the following from the report of the Special Committee of the New Orleans Academy of Sciences on the importance of a Geological and Scientific Survey of the State of Louisiana, submitted to the legislature, February, 1856.

In 1841, the legislature of this State authorized a committee to inquire into the propriety of such a survey. Some cursory investigations were made of a geological nature by Messrs. Carpenter, Trastour and Forshey. These gentlemen made reports which were never printed, and which are not known to be extant at the present time, having probably been lost in the keeping of M. E. St. Romes, then the State printer.

In regard to our *geology*, we infer, from the most authentic information we can obtain, that this State offers no great diversity of geological formations. Most of the State is of recent alluvion. The north and northwestern portions exhibit tertiary, and possibly, older formations. The tertiary characterized by points of great interest. Our alluvion, mostly the creation of the great Mississippi, produced in part under our own eyes, offers a grand exemplification of geological dynamics deserving of profound study.

As to our useful mineral, there is reason to believe that the northwestern parishes of the State abound in *gypsum*, valuable as a cement in the arts and in building, and as a manure in agriculture; also, in *common salt*, generally associated with gypsum. A variety of mineral cove, known as *lignite*, occurs in the same region.

It is not to us certain that we have valuable building materials, in the shape of stone *quarries*, within our State limits; a geological survey would decide the matter.

We have numberless beds of *shell marl*, more or less useful in agriculture; but, whether we have marsh beds, rich in phosphates or in potassa, two of the most important ingredients of good soil for producing cereal and fruits, we are unable to say. The investigation of this matter alone is of vast importance to our future well-being as a prosperous State.

The thorough investigation of the nature and composition of all our prominent and prevalent varieties of soil, which the prosecution of a scientific survey would imply, could not fail to be of the greatest value. We should thus be put in possession of all the important facts and data necessary to the advancement of our agriculture. Our planters could economically prevent the deterioration of the soil cultivated, whatever crops should be raised. And since chemical analyses have shown that each species of plant appropriates, while growing, certain special kind of mineral matters, the analysis of the soil would indicate the adaptability of certain soils to any particular crop.

It is not improbable, that the shores of many of our unfrequented bays and inlets from the Gulf will be found to yield guano-like substance, rich in phosphate of lime. This can only be determined by exploration and chemical analysis. If such should prove to be the fact, the value of the deposits for fertilizing the fields devoted to the raising of human food would transcend all modern cultivation.

Our State, in reference to its fertility, is confessedly the Egypt of the New World; but, rich and deep as most of our soil is, it will nevertheless become gradually exhausted of potassa and phosphates, by repeated cereal crops; and hence it behoves us to cast about, in good time, for the most economical means of preventing such a result.

A complete geological survey would incidentally bring to light much valuable information respecting our topography and hydrography. Subjects having a direct bearing upon the occurrence and preventing of crevasses. It would, of course, devolve upon the legislature to decide whether or not the geological and mineral exploration contemplated should

be prosecuted in connexion with a topographical and hydrographical survey.

A thorough investigation into the qualities of all our indigenous waters, including rivers, bayous, creeks, lakes, lagoons, wells and springs, whether yielding ordinary potable fresh water or charged with mineral ingredients, should be included in the plan.

To sustain the most desirable tone of good health, human beings require water containing from one to three parts in ten thousand of the mineral salts of lime, sodium, iron, &c. In other parts of the world great value, as curative means, is deservedly attached to mineral waters. There is reason to suppose that our State is rich in these hygienic resources. By a careful study of the various geological beds of superposed sands, clays, marls, and rocky strata, which occur in the north and northwestern portions of this State, and especially by clearly identifying them with their equivalents in Alabama and Mississippi, our theory of artesian wells will become of practical value; in the States named adjacent to us geological surveys have been some time in progress under legislative authority. Before sinking a well, the depth at which water will be found can there be very closely calculated with us; aside from the developments of our well of six hundred feet in Canal street, all below us is strictly "terra incognita." In order to make the results of the proposed geological and mineral survey quite available and permanently useful, the plan should contemplate the collection of several complete sets of all our rocks, minerals, sands, clays, marls, variety of soil, and samples of the waters; these should be accompanied with labels setting forth the localities whence obtained, the results of exact chemical analysis, and the various economical uses to which they are applicable. In like manner there should be brought together and duly preserved and labelled, sets of dried or prepared specimens of all our indigenous flora and fauna, including trees, herbs, grasses, weeds, wild flowers, ferns, aglae, fungi, lichen, mosses, insects, reptiles, fishes, birds, quadrupeds, &c., &c. One of these museums of indigenous productions should be kept in the State house in Baton Rouge, one in the State seminary, one in the University of Louisiana, and one in the hall of the New Orleans Academy of Sciences. Different species of insects often become the dreaded pests of the planter. By acquiring a knowledge of their natural history, means may, perhaps, be devised to arrest or lessen their ravages. There is a kind of dynamic or vital equilibrium, or reciprocal balance among the members of organized nature,

by which the abundant prevalence of one race or species is found to depend upon the paucity or redundancy of some other, remotely removed, perhaps, in the scale of being. Availing himself of a knowledge of these dependencies, the agriculturalist may sometimes almost annihilate a particular race of destructive insects, by encouraging the multiplication of particular species of birds which prey upon them. Although scientific and practical investigations of our native grasses would be apt to bring some species to light which, by cultivation, might supply the great desideratum of grasses as well adapted for making hay in our latitude as the Phleim Pratense and other hardy exotics, in the colder latitudes of New York and New England, the whole vegetable kingdom, now known to embrace more than one hundred thousand distinct species, is comprised in comparatively few great natural groups or families. Those of the same group or family have many traits in common, flourishing although even on opposite sides of the earth, not unfrequently in similar localities, as respects the constituents of the soil in which they grow. The investigations of our native flora would then give valuable indications as to what foreign plants, useful to man, congeneric with indigenous ones, might be introduced with a prospect of success.

CAIRO AS A COMMERCIAL CITY.

Heretofore the principal market for all the immense region laid open by the construction of the railroads in Illinois, has been St. Louis.

This city is situated on the Mississippi, a few miles below its junction with the Missouri, and is 180 miles above Cairo. In winter, St. Louis is always blocked up by the ice, and in summer its navigation suffers greatly from drought; yet, so imperatively have the wants of commerce called for a market near that point, that the growth of St. Louis, with all its disadvantages, has been nearly as rapid as that of Chicago.

In 1820, the population of St. Louis was 4,123; in 1855, nearly 125,000!

The forests of southern Illinois, laid open for use by the Central railroad, offer an immense field for the exercise of most profitable labor, at a comparatively small expenditure of capital. The manufacture of staves, for the supply of the sugar plantations of Louisiana alone, would be no small item. Ship timber could be furnished for the whole of the Ohio and Mississippi navigation, cheaper and better than from any other point.

Marble quarries are worked near Jonesboro'. A recent examination proves them to be of excellent quality, of a grayish white color, fine-grained, close, compact, ringing clear under the hammer, and splitting well with wedges. It takes a fine polish, and can be got out of any size, and in any quantity. It will be invaluable as a building material in Cairo, when that city reaches its promised greatness, and may, no doubt, be sent with advantage to St. Louis and New Orleans, perhaps to Louisville and Cincinnati.

There appears to be little doubt that the whole of the important and daily increasing trade in groceries, for the supply of this extensive region, will be transferred to Cairo; and we apprehend that Chicago will hereafter receive most of its sugar, molasses, and West India produce over the Central railroad, *via* Cairo. The greater portion of these goods has hitherto been received by the Illinois and Michigan canal, but purchasers will henceforth be disposed to avoid the uncertain navigation of the Upper Mississippi and the canal, in favor of the sure navigation up to Cairo, never impeded by ice, and transportation thence by railroad direct.

Immense quantities of pork, now going to St. Louis, and encountering great difficulties in crossing there, and other troubles, will doubtless, in time, when the proper arrangements and facilities are made, be shipped south to Cairo, both for packing and reshipment to New Orleans, by the daily line of mail steamers running from that point, or north to Chicago for early packing for the lumber trade.

The iron and other heavy goods heretofore supplied to the country east of St. Louis, and from that city towards the Wabash, will hereafter be furnished cheaper and with certainty from Cairo, which must, in fact, become THE market for the produce of the State.

Very appropriately, it has been observed, that "Cairo is the upper port of the Mexican Gulf, another and a better placed New Orleans."

KANSAS MATTERS—APPEAL TO THE SOUTH.

To the People of the South: On the undersigned, managers of the "Lafayette Emigration Society," has devolved the important duty of calling the attention of the people of the slaveholding States, to the absolute necessity of immediate action on their part, in relation to the settlement of Kansas Territory. The crisis is at hand. Prompt and decisive measures must be adopted, or farewell to southern rights and independence.

The western counties of Missouri have, for the last two years, been heavily taxed, both in money and time, in fighting the battles of the South. Lafayette county alone has expended more than \$100,000 in money, and as much, or more, in time. Up to this time, the border counties of Missouri have upheld and maintained the rights and interests of the South in this struggle, unassisted, and unsuccessfully. But the abolitionists, staking their all upon the Kansas issue, and hesitating at no means, fair or foul, are moving heaven and earth to render that beautiful Territory not only a "free State," so called, but a den of negro thieves and "higher law" incendiaries.

Missouri, we feel confident, has done her duty, and will still be found ready and willing to do all she can, fairly and honorably, for the maintainance of the integrity of the South. But the time has come when she can no longer stand up, single handed, the lone champion of the South, against the myrmidons of the entire North. It requires no great foresight to perceive that if the "higher law" men succeed in this crusade, it will be but the commencement of a war upon the institutions of the South, which will continue until slavery shall cease to exist in any of the States, or the Union is dissolved.

How, then, shall these impending evils be avoided? The answer is obvious. *Settle the Territory with emigrants from the south.* The population of the Territory at this time is about equal—as many pro-slavery settlers as abolitionists; but the fanatics have emissaries in all the free States—in almost every village—and by misrepresentation and falsehood are engaged in collecting money and enlisting men to tyrannize over the south. Is it in the nature of southern men to submit without resistance, to look to the north for their laws and institutions? We do not believe it! If, then, the south is influenced by a spirit of self-respect and independence, *let societies be formed to assist emigrants.* Those who cannot emigrate can contribute money to assist those who can. We have such societies in Missouri, and we can induce more people to emigrate than we are able to support. If the whole south would adopt this system, we would succeed; Kansas would be a slave State, and the slavery agitation would cease. If we permit the north to make an abolition State of Kansas, the whole south must submit to be governed by the north. Will the south help us?

The great struggle will come off at the next election, in October, 1856, and unless the south can at that time maintain her ground, all will be lost. We repeat it, the crisis

has arrived. The time has come for action—*bold, determined action*; words will no longer do any good; we must have men in Kansas; and that too by tens of thousands. A few will not answer. If we should need ten thousand, and lack one of that number, all will count nothing. Let all then, who can come, do so at once. Those who cannot come, must give their money to help others to come. There are hundreds of thousands of broad acres of rich land, worth from \$5 to \$20 per acre, open to settlement and pre-emption, at \$1 25 per acre. Let, then, the farmer come and bring his slaves with him. There are now one thousand slaves in Kansas, whose presence there strengthens our cause. Shall we allow these rich lands and this beautiful country to be overrun by our abolition enemies? We know of a surety that they have emissaries and spies in almost every town, village and city in the south, watching our movements, and tampering with our slaves. Let us, then, be vigilant and active in the cause; we must maintain our ground. The loss of Kansas to the south will be the death knell of our dear Union.

Missouri has done nobly, thus far, in overcoming the thousands who have been sent out by Abolition Aid Societies; we cannot hold out much longer unless the whole South will come to the rescue. We need men; we need money; send us both, and that quickly. Do not delay; come as individuals, come in companies, come by thousands.

Our hearts have been made glad by the late arrival of large companies from South Carolina and Alabama. They have responded promptly to our call for help. The noble Buford is already endeared to our hearts; we love him; we will fight for him, and die for him and his companions. Who will follow his noble example! We tell you now, and tell you frankly, that unless you come quickly, and come by thousands, we are gone. The elections once lost, we are lost forever. Then farewell to our southern cause, and farewell to our glorious Union. We repeat the cry, "come over and help us."

W. H. RUSSELL,	MARTIN SLAUGHTER,
O. ANDERSON,	G. W. BAKER,
EDWARD WINSOR,	NATHAN CORDER,
WILLIAM SHIELDS.	

DANIEL A. VEITCH, *Secretary*.

Extract from a Letter to the Kansas Association of South Carolina from Joseph P. Carr, dated at Platte city, Mo.

1. Can you give us accurate information as to the relative strength among the *bona fide* settlers in Kansas of the two parties?

I cannot tell, with any precision, the strength of the two parties at this time. There has been no reliable test of the vote of either party since last spring. The returns of the elections of Whitfield and Reeder cannot be taken as any criterion of the true vote of the respective parties. There being no opposition to Whitfield, the vote cast at his election by our friends was very light; while at Reeder's, there being no legal restraints, the vote was such as the abolitionists chose to make it.

From the most reliable information I can get, I certainly think there is a majority of pro-slavery men in the Territory; and, as they are not like the abolitionists, concentrated upon one or two points in an election for members of the legislature, they would, without aid from the "border ruffians," be able to carry a decided majority of representatives. We have the assurance, however, that the abolitionists will again make the most strenuous efforts to send out emigrants; and, as Missouri has already contributed so many settlers, it is all-important that the other southern States should now come to our assistance.

2. As to the possibility of a hostile collision immediately?

I think there is none—nor, indeed, do I believe it very likely there will be one at all. The knowledge that government troops will be used against them, will keep the abolitionists in check, and prevent them again breaking out in insurrection; and, unless Whitfield's election be set aside, and a new election ordered, there cannot well arise any occasion for a collision—at least until next fall, when the election for members of the legislature will be held.

3. The possibility of strengthening effectually the hands of the pro-slavery party by the next fall elections; and,

4. What number of emigrants from the south will be necessary to secure, in a political contest at the ballot-box, the majority to the pro-slavery party?

The election for members of the legislature will be held on the first Monday in October next. If the slaveholding States will send us two thousand emigrants, that is, two thousand voters, during the present year, our friends believe the condition of Kansas will be definitely settled. This is, however, a mere matter of conjecture, for, of course, we cannot tell how large the emigration from the north will be.

From the most reliable information, we are led to believe that we shall receive the number suggested and more. There will also be from Missouri a large emigration in addition to those already in the Territory.

* * * * *

5. The parties who arrive by the 1st of June ought to make

by their labor enough to pay for their subsistence. Employment for all kind of laborers can be obtained at high rates. Mere farm hands will bring from fifteen to twenty dollars per month, with board furnished them, and mechanics of all kinds are in great demand. All can certainly procure employment until the 1st of December, and I am assured, in ordinary winters, can labor conveniently out doors almost the entire season.

* * * * *

In addition to the matters suggested by your inquiries, I would state that the territory lying between the Kansas and Missouri rivers is now occupied by a decidedly pro-slavery population. On the south side of the Kansas river, and especially along that river, the abolitionists have made their chief settlements. It has occurred to our friends that it would be better, as a matter of policy, and as being more southern—more agreeable to the southern emigrants—that a good portion of them would settle south of Kansas river. By this means we will secure the southern half of the Territory before it is filled by abolitionists; the northern half will be saved by Missourians. The representatives have already been apportioned to the different counties; and adding to our numbers north of the Kansas river will not increase our strength, for we have a majority there now; but if the southern men are distributed among the counties south of the river, their votes will tell.

The emigrants would still come up the Missouri river, and land at Kansas City or Atchison, as they might determine on going to the eastern or western portion of the Territory. Atchison is nearer to Leocompton, the capital; and I think the better portion of the southern part of the Territory now open for settlement can be reached from that point most conveniently. These are, however, matters for future consideration.

I would suggest that you should seek, as far as possible, to induce all who have a small number of slaves to come out. To such this is a peculiarly desirable country, and they need have no fear of slaves escaping. The actual presence of a good number of slaves would at once settle the question.

If I can be useful to you in any way in carrying out the objects of your society, my services are at your command.

Kansas Meeting at New Orleans.

MEETING OF THE FRIENDS OF KANSAS.—Pursuant to a call, a large number of persons, friendly to the cause of slavery in Kansas, assembled in the St. Charles Hotel.

Hon. Isaac E. Morse officiated as president, and V. H. Ivy, Esq., as secretary.

After some preliminary and appropriate remarks of the president, J. D. B. DeBow, Esq., presented the following resolutions, which were adopted without a dissenting voice:

Whereas, the people of Kansas Territory have organized a government favorable to the institution of slavery, which is now threatened by combinations among the abolitionists of the north and northwest—be it therefore

Resolved, That our citizens have the right to emigrate to and abide in Kansas or any other federal Territory, and to take with them such property as is recognized by the constitutions of this State and of the United States.

Resolved, That the slave institution is one of the political constituencies of this confederacy, and an element under the sovereignty of such slave State, and that any attempt to destroy it, other than by the consent and through the legitimate action of those who have its legal control, is alike moral and political treachery to the system of this Union.

Resolved, therefore, in view of these cardinal truths, that it is our right and duty as a people "to promote the emigration of such citizens as will go to Kansas, with a bona fide purpose of becoming inhabitants thereof.

Resolved, That while we do not claim that either the State, or any subordinate official authority, or any armed military organization should, as such, intervene in the domestic affairs of Kansas, we shall voluntarily, as private individuals, furnish all necessary facilities within our lawful sphere of action which may be needed by or useful to those of our fellow-citizens who are proper persons and may desire to emigrate to Kansas, with or without property.

Resolved, That there be appointed by this meeting a permanent executive committee, consisting of nine persons, with power in said committee of keeping up its members, (any five of whom shall be a quorum,) of making by-laws and regulations, and of appointing its appropriate officers, and that said committee be requested to open subscriptions in New Orleans, and invite them from the several parishes, and appropriate such amounts as may be contributed in aid of legitimate emigrants from our own or other slaveholding States, making publication through the papers of the city of the amount received and the manner of its disposal.

Resolved, That similar associations be recommended throughout the State.

The president demanded time, consideration, and consultation, before making the appointments of the executive committee.

General Felix Huston offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Kansas Pioneer, edited by A. B. Hazzard, at Kickapoo City, Kansas Territory, and published at \$2 per annum, has nobly defended the cause of the south and of the constitution in that Territory, and deserves the hearty support and encouragement of the southern people.

After some conversational debate, it was moved and carried that Messrs. Morse, Ivy, DeBow and Mertens, be appointed members of the executive committee.

The meeting then adjourned.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE.

We are indebted to Dr. Ashbel Smith, of Texas, for a copy of his speech upon the subject of internal improvements in that State. Dr. Smith, in a note to us, makes the following remarks, which we copy with pleasure:

The legislature at its session which has just closed passed but few laws of a general character. The leading measure of the session was the Texas debt bill

which, fortunately for the honor and prosperity of the State, was passed. To do this required immense exertions on the part of its friends. I was chairman of the committee which reported the bill; my report, and a speech I made in support of it, I transmitted to you a few mails since.

Another measure, or rather subject, which occupied a large share of the time of the legislature, was that of internal improvements. Two systems were, the French say, in presence before the legislature: one, the building of railroads by private enterprise mainly, through the agency of corporations; the other system was that known as the State plan. Mr. Sherwood was sent from Galveston as the special advocate of the latter, or State plan, and he urged this system on the legislature and opposed all corporate enterprises, under all circumstances, with untiring zeal, perseverance and ability. He conciliated considerable favor for the State plan for a while, but in the end the legislature were satisfied by a large, very large, majority that the State plan of building roads would plunge Texas into that bankruptcy, more or less complete, which has befallen every State that has adopted this system. Besides, our constitution would require a change, I will not say amendment, before the State plan could be adopted; and our citizens are at this time averse to tinkering on the constitution, imperfect as it confessedly is. A bill was passed the Senate authorizing a loan of six thousand dollars a mile to railroads which shall be built by corporations. There is every reason to believe that this bill will pass the house at the adjourned session to be held in July; it will give such an impulse and afford such substantive available aid to the great trunks of roads which are already commenced as to insure their building within a reasonable time. The branching privilege, as it is called, has been wisely cut off from those charters which have asked modifications or extensions of time. This will promote the extending of a few great lines on direct courses into the remoter districts of this great State, which are greatly more needed than shorter zig-zag lines near the coast. In view of what has already been done in the way of actually commencing and building roads, I think it may be safely asserted that commerce and travel will establish the head waters of Galveston Bay about the city of Houston, as the centre for western, middle, and to some considerable extent, of northern Texas. Of course, at no very distant period, there must be a connecting road running into the city of Galveston. It appears to me that the necessity of the interior districts for transportation to navigable waters must first be provided for. In northern Texas, the "Texas Western Railroad Company" has had its name changed to the "Southern Pacific," and its charter otherwise amended. A considerable number of hands (negroes) are at work on this road, and it seems now established, that under this charter the great southern road shall connect the Mississippi river and the Gulf of Mexico with the Pacific ocean will be constructed. The importance of pushing forward the construction of this road cannot be over estimated for the south. Being built by slave labor it insures a tier of slaveholding States along its line to the Pacific ocean. I omit other railroad matters, for I have neither space nor the intention to write an article on railroad enterprises in Texas.

Several other important measures besides the loan bill were, for want of time to consider them maturely, adjourned over to the meeting in July; among them is a system of common schools.

INTRODUCTION OF IRON BUILDINGS.

The erection of a new hospital at New Orleans, under an appropriation from the federal government, furnishes an opportunity of introducing iron buildings for public purposes, which will no doubt lead to a vastly extended consumption of that material, now so important an American interest.

We extract from the proposals of the Treasury:

"Proposals will at the same time be received for a building, similar to that called for by the specifications except that the main or exterior walls will be constructed of an iron veneering, upon iron frames, filled with some non-conducting substance, thus making the structure fire-proof, according to a supplement to the specifications. Persons submitting such proposals will give minute details of fastening the vertical and horizontal frames composing the walls; of filling them; of the style of ornamentation, &c. Persons may submit plans for an iron build-

ing, of an equal or smaller size than that called for by the specifications, though conforming generally to the shape and plan."

The idea of this new and useful consumption of American iron on the part of the government, has been practically suggested by the accomplished scientific engineer at the head of the Bureau of Construction of the Treasury Department, Captain A. H. Bowman. Simultaneous with his assumption of office, he caused to be instituted a series of experiments to test the adaptation of iron to the various purposes of a building material, which resulted in the introduction of iron beams and girding, to a large extent, in all the new buildings erected by the Secretary of the Treasury, under the superintendence of this officer. He has also, with the encouragement and support of the Secretary of the Treasury, caused iron to be extensively employed for the interior construction of buildings generally. And now, as we have seen, an important step has been taken by the Treasury Department toward the adoption of iron as a building material, for the exterior as well as the interior of public edifices.

IMPORTANT NAUTICAL INVENTION.

Dr. Brashear, of Louisiana, has lately applied for letters patent for an invention which must prove of great importance to navigators, and ought to receive the attention of government.

The patentee for this invention claims for it a capacity to control sea vessels in the most violent gales or storms, when it becomes necessary for their safety to lay to; that when it is lowered into the sea it will bring the vessel's head directly to the wind, where she will stand as firmly as if anchored on ordinary holding ground, (as seamen term it.) Now, should it be desirable (that in apprehension of a dangerous lee-shore) to give a direction to the ship's drift, this can be done to a degree of four or five points of the compass, by taking in or letting out one of the lines from the bow, until the buoys show an angle of about forty-five degrees to the bow of the vessel. It requires no argument to prove how much more secure is the rudder of a ship, than in the ordinary way of lashing the helm a-lee, to receive the whole force of the sea, to keep the ship's head as much to the wind as possible. Now it is not the least advantage that this invention offers the navigator when near his port of destination, when met by a violent head-wind calculated to drive him from his port, that he can lower his anchor and ride out the gale in more safety than to stand before the wind or to lie to, under a northern gale in an icy temperature. We have rarely, if ever, witnessed so simple, so cheap an invention, that promises such results as we anticipate from it in the protection of life and property on the ocean, and we shall not be surprised to see every maritime power, in a short time, compelling every vessel to use this invention.

Dr. J. H. Gibbon, of North Carolina, desires us to insert a correction of the report which was made in the Review of his remarks at the late southern convention. We have not space to insert all that our friend has sent us, but the part extracted will perhaps be sufficient.

"It appears proper to amend some statements in a report of expressions which appear under my name, in the March number of DeBow's Review.

"Objection was made to a proposition to meet again in Richmond, because two appointments had already been made for that city; and it was not desirable to invite preparations for such an occurrence by immediate adjournment to meet again in May. The moral effect of doing nothing was also feared, when there was much to be done; no reports were called for.

"There was no intention to offer rebuke to those appointed to report; such reference was misplaced, having allusion to a separate subject—the abduction or retention of slaves at the north.

"While I was speaking, some one placed a paper in my hand, a paragraph, to show intention to withdraw the runaway servants from the south, who had fled to Canada, to work abandoned plantations in Jamaica. I visited that island and others in the West Indies, besides the continent of southern America, and regard the general condition of the emancipated negroes infinitely worse than that of the majority of slaves on our southern plantations."

BOOK NOTICES.

The Confidential Correspondence of Napoleon Bonaparte with his Brother Joseph, King of Spain. Selected and translated with explanatory notes from the *Memoires du Roi Joseph*, in 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The volumes contain a translation of all the letters and orders of Napoleon published in the *Memoires of King Joseph*, with other letters of Napoleon, and some explanatory ones, the production of other pens. They are not curtailed, and the editor admits that it is only by studying the details of his orders that their wonderful fullness, minuteness, and precision can be estimated. The work is one of great interest.

Visit to India, China, and Japan. By Bayard Taylor. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1856. This volume ends the record of two and a half years of travel, which was commenced in the "Journey to Central Africa," and continued in the "Lands of the Saracen." The three works should be in the library of every gentleman.

History of Philosophy in Epitome. By Dr. Albert Schweigler. Translated from the German by Julius H. Seelye. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1856. This work is considered in Germany the best concise manual upon the subject, and is admirably adapted to the higher class of schools, academies, and colleges, everywhere.

Elements of Logic, together with an Introductory View of Philosophy in General, and a Preliminary View of the Reason. By Henry P. Tappan. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1856.

It is attempted in the work to make out the system of logic under its several departments, and to present it not merely as a method of obtaining inferences from truth, but also as a method of establishing those first truths and general principles which must precede all deduction.

The Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races, with particular reference to their respective Influence in the Civil and Political History of Mankind. From the French of Count A. de Gobineau; with an Analytical Introduction and copious Historical Notes, by H. Hotz; with an Appendix containing a Summary of the latest Scientific Facts bearing upon the Unity or Plurality of Races, by J. C. Nott, M. D., of Mobile. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott & Co., 1856.

We give the title of this able volume in full, and will take occasion very soon to furnish an analysis of its contents for the benefit of our readers. Dr. Nott ably furnishes his portion of the work, and proves himself again a profound thinker and writer upon the question of the races, regarding little the puny shafts of his assailants.

The Blue Ribbon; a Story of the Last Century. By Anna Harriet Drury. A pretty little story.

The Onyx Ring. By John Sterling; with a biographical preface by Charles Hale. *St. Gildas, or the Three Paths.* By Julia Kavanagh.

Little Paul and other Stories. By Lizzie Amory.

The four works above named are neat duodecimos, published by Whittemore, Niles & Hall, Boston. We have not been able to look into their contents as yet.

Speeches and Addresses of Charles Sumner. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1856. The publishers have sent us a copy, and we can only return the courtesy by mentioning the fact.

The Angel in the House; The Betrothal. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1856. A poem of some merit, and quaintly published.

The Attache in Madrid, or Sketches of the Court of Isabella II. Translated from the German. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1856.

We have not had the time to examine the volume, but it is undoubtedly of great interest, and treats of matters of late European diplomacy. We have not seen if the writer does justice to Mr. Soule, but that able gentleman will undoubtedly prove strong enough for his own vindication whenever the time shall come. The volume will be referred to again.

Jackson and New Orleans, an authentic Narrative of the memorable Achievement of the American Army under Andrew Jackson, before New Orleans, in the Winter of 1814 and 1815. By Alexander Walker. New York: J. C. Derby, 1856.

Judge Walker, a citizen of New Orleans, and for many years editor of a leading journal in that city, has devoted long and laborious researches to the subject of this memoir, and has undoubtedly had access to everything that contemporary history or tradition could furnish. We have no doubt of the ability and

general fidelity of the work without undertaking to express concurrence in all of its positions. No student of American history should fail to obtain a copy of the volume, from which instruction and amusement will be abundantly reaped.

Aspiration; an Autobiography of Girlhood. By Mrs. Manners. New York: Sheldon, Lamport & Blakeman, 1855. The author hopes to show in the volume the quicksands in the path of girlhood, the false lights which delude. "I have tried," she says, "to be faithful to the soul advancing into a cultivated maturity of womanhood."

The Day Star of American Freedom, showing the Birth and Growth of Toleration in Maryland. By George L. Davis, of Baltimore. New York: C. Scribner, 1855. The work is founded upon researches among the archives at Annapolis and at London. In these dark days of persecution in religious matters revived, a defence of toleration, as exhibited in the early days of Maryland, will be sought after and read with liveliest interest. Would to God this lesson may be a salutary one to our countrymen.

Parisian Sights and French Principles seen through American Spectacles. By James Jackson Jarvis. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1855. Second series. The illustrations are very numerous and very handsome, and of the most amusing kind. Really this work is one of the most readable and interesting of the day, and will acquire a wide popularity.

Sketch of the Life and Times of John De Witt, together with a Treatise on Life Annuities. By Robert G. Barnwell, American Consul at Amsterdam. New York: Putney & Russell, 1856. In a late number of the Review our readers were presented in advance of its publication with a chapter from this most interesting and instructive little volume. Mr. Barnwell deserves well of the literary public for having collected with great pains in Holland the materials of this work, which he presents in the most graceful manner. It would be well for our country did all of its consular agents abroad employ their talents in such fields as those selected by Mr. Barnwell. He has now in preparation a life of Grotius.

Appleton's Cyclopædia of Biography, embracing a series of original memoirs of the most distinguished persons of all times. (Written for this work by a large number of English scholars.) American edition edited by Francis L. Hawks, D.D. LL.D. With illustrations. New York: Appleton & Co., 1856.

The name of Dr. Hawkes, so high in American letters, will be a sufficient guarantee of the value of this work. It is based upon the Cyclopædia of Biography edited by Rich, and published in London during the last year. As in the case of the English edition, the articles supplied in this are from different hands. Several thousand names have been added, and the work constitutes a valuable record of biography which no library should be without. Its style of execution is almost faultless.

Recollections of the Table Talk of Samuel Rogers, to which is added Personiana. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1856. The editor, like another Boswell, (though unlike in every thing else,) was in the habit of writing down in all their minutiae the anecdotes, &c., with which the conversation of his hero abounded. From the mass of such memoranda a most readable and capital volume has been constructed, and one which will be highly appreciated in all literary circles.

Klosterheim, or the Masque. By Thomas de Quincy, with a biographical preface by Dr. Shelton Mackensie. Boston: Whittemore, Niles & Hall. New York: J. C. Derby, 1856.

Edinburg Review for March, 1856, Westminster Review for April, 1856, Blackwood's Magazine for April, 1856. New York: Leonard, Scott & Co.'s republications.

Mrs. Follen's Twilight Stories.

1. "True Stories about Dogs and Cats."
2. "Made up Stories."
3. "The Pedler of Dust Sticks."
4. "The Old Garret." Part I.
5. "The Old Garret." Part II.
6. "The Old Garret." Part III.

By Mrs. Follen, with illustrations by Billings. Boston: Whittemore, Niles & Hall. Milwaukee: A. Whittemore & Co., 1856.

"If these books please the little boys and girls, it is the intention of the publishers to add six more, making twelve in all, and forming a very pretty and useful little library."